

IN THESE TIMES

2nd Anniversary
Issue!



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50 Cents

ELECTION
78
WHO WON
WHAT IT
MEANS

Politics is back in Tinsel Town

*A report on
Hollywood's
social conscience*

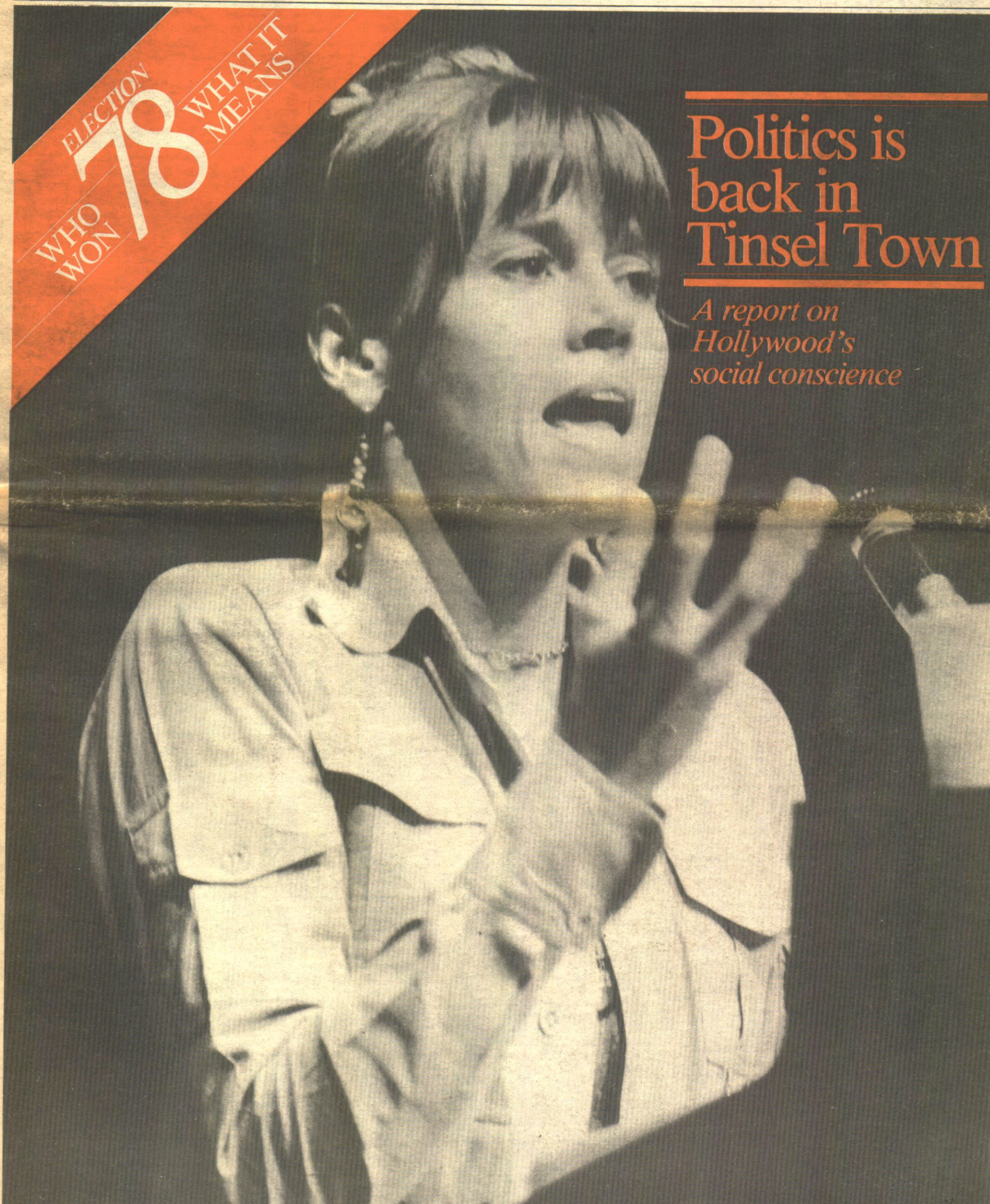


Photo by Lenny Bourin

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



A young Headlee initiative supporter at the election party at Farrell's Ice Cream parlor.

Right-wing revolt gets stalled in Michigan vote

In last week's elections, the Midwest was a microcosm of the nation. If you wanted to see the plight of the liberal Democrats, Minnesota was your best bet. If you wanted to see labor pitted against business, Missouri had its right-to-work initiative; if you wanted to see the new right, Iowa had now Senator-elect Roger Jepsen; if you wanted to see presidential hopefuls and mudslinging, Illinois had Republican Gov. James Thompson and Democrat Alex R. Seith; and if you wanted to see the latest episode of Howard Jarvis' tax revolt, Michigan had two tax initiatives on the ballot.

The Tisch initiative promised to cut property taxes in the manner of California's Proposition 13, and the Headlee initiative promised to put a lid on state spending and taxes. Like Proposition 13, both initiatives were laced with suspicious provisos whose implementation would have undercut their ostensibly populist purposes.

As of mid-October, both initiatives were way ahead on the polls. But last week, as a result of a belated campaign by the Michigan Education Association, and Detroit business, labor, and minority organizations, Tisch was soundly defeated (63-37 percent), and Headlee barely squeaked by (51-49 percent). If the election had been postponed a week, or if the initiative opponents had begun their campaign earlier, Headlee would also have been defeated.

In contrast to what happened in California last spring, many Michigan voters finally did come to understand what they were voting on. The Michigan election showed that it will not be so easy for right-wing demagogues and corporate schemers to capitalize on popular anger with high taxes.

Small-town democrat.

Ironically, the leader of Michigan's tax revolt is neither a schemer nor a demagogue. Robert Tisch is the drain commissioner of Shiawassee County. He is a gaunt, bespectacled, Ichabod Crane-type character without guile or pretensions. He is as appalled at big business as at big government. He is the archetypical small-town democrat, who still nourishes dreams of an America of small property-holders, whose freedom is guaranteed by their property.

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But like many small-town Democrats, Tisch had to adjust his dreams to the reality of a different era, and the final product unwittingly conceded too much to property and too little to freedom. The Tisch initiative would have cut property taxes in half and limited their rise to 2.5 percent a year. It allowed the state to make up some of the revenues by setting a 5.6 percent limit on Michigan's income tax, 1 percent more than the present rate, and allowing localities to levy a 1 percent income tax. Tisch's motive, he explained, was to permit people to own and to keep their own homes. He included both residential and commercial property because he thought it would be easier in the beginning to pass a uniform cut. "Industry gets tax breaks anyway," he told me.

But the opponents of the Tisch initiative were able to show that, in the short run, the initiative would benefit only real estate developers and big property owners. Michigan State University economists Al House and Garland Wood published a paper demonstrating that the initiative would deprive the state of \$1.8 billion in revenues. Unlike California, Michigan does not have a budget surplus, so it would have to make up these revenues by passing the income tax increases allowed for. But there would still be a \$245 million shortfall, which would mean either social service cuts or an increase in the single business tax, the only tax that would not be under a ceiling.

The prospect of social service cuts naturally alarmed many people, especially the Michigan Education Association (MEA). And the prospect of raising the business tax brought widespread opposition from Michigan's business establishment.

House and Wood also showed that with the income tax increases in effect, most Michigan taxpayers' net bills would either go up or stay the same. Only large property owners would have their net bills reduced.

As these revelations became known, the active Tisch movement shrank by election day to the naive-but-well-meaning and the real estate developers.

Suave but slimy.

Farmington Hills insurance executive Robert Headlee, the author of the tax and spending limitation initiative, was almost the opposite of Tisch: pretentious, suave and slimy. Headlee was able to attract considerable corporate support for his initiative, which he described as a "responsible alternative to [Tisch's] meat-axe approach." (ITT, Aug. 23.)

The Headlee initiative limited state spending and revenue to roughly 9.5 percent of state personal income. In the case of emergencies, only the governor's request and a two-thirds vote of the legislature can temporarily suspend those limits. The initiative also required voter approval for any new local taxes or bonds. And it prohibited property tax assessments from raising any faster than the cost of living.

The Headlee initiative, as former gubernatorial candidate Zolton Ferency charged last July, was a thinly veiled attack on the state's responsibility to undo the injustices and excesses of capitalism—by providing quality services to those who cannot afford to purchase them privately, and by providing relief to the poor and unemployed. To fulfill this responsibility, the state budget would, if anything, have to expand as a percentage of state income. Ferency charged that Headlee was, in effect, ensuring private control over 90 percent of Michigan's income.

The requirement that local bonds be voted on also came under fire. Opponents charged that it would hamper needed development in Detroit, where it would be difficult to get older white residents to agree to find projects in the black inner city.

And opponents attacked the provision that would keep property tax assessments in line with the cost of

living. They pointed out that the only areas where the average valuation was rising faster than the cost of living was in wealthy bedroom communities. The residents of these communities, and no one else, would get a hidden tax break from the Headlee initiative.

Early lead.

The main opposition to both initiatives came from the MEA, which spent an estimated \$600,000 against them, New Detroit, a prominent coalition of labor, business and minority groups founded after the Detroit riots to oversee Detroit's civic rehabilitation, and DARE, a Detroit political organization that grew out of Ken Cockrel's city council campaign.

But they all entered the fray fairly late. New Detroit didn't assemble its coalition until late September, because of the need to wean its corporate members away from a pro-Headlee position. They were won over finally, one New Detroit official explained, by citing the threat that the initiative posed to Detroit's downtown development and by explaining that government would become less flexible as a result of the initiative. (But some of the executives backed Headlee anyway, in spite of New Detroit's position.)

From July to October, the Headlee and Tisch campaigns rode the waves of Proposition 13 virtually uncontested. All the senatorial and gubernatorial candidates jumped on the Headlee bandwagon. Other than Ferency, their only opponents were each other, with Headlee charging that Tisch was only offering a "tax shift" and Tisch charging that Headlee was only freezing taxes at their already exorbitant level. (For a few months, Headlee appeared in debates with Tisch and Ferency, but finally refused to appear with them because they both ganged up on him as the representative of big business.)

In mid-October, according to Market Opinion Research, Headlee was leading 68-15 percent and Tisch was 57-21. In Detroit, their support among blacks was slightly higher than their support among whites, and statewide their support among skilled and unskilled workers was higher than their support among business executives and professionals.

But New Detroit had Market Opinion Research conduct a poll to determine the nature of that support. They found that most residents thought the initiatives would simply lower their taxes and that more blacks than whites thought their property taxes were too high.

But when they introduced into their polling specific consequences of the initiatives, the results changed dramatically. When those being polled were told the Tisch initiative would result in an initial cutback of some services, or when they were told Headlee would not cut property taxes, support among both blacks and whites dramatically reversed. Significantly, the group whose answers were least affected by learning Headlee's consequences were suburbanites and those with an income greater than \$15,000.

As a result of the last minute media blitz by the initiatives' opponents, which stressed their consequences, the final election results came to resemble these earlier findings. Tisch lost everywhere except in a few small towns. The Headlee initiative lost dramatically among Detroit blacks (they had backed it 63 to 11 percent in October; on election day, they opposed it 72 to 28 percent).

It lost slightly in most white working class areas (51 and 52 percent in two that I visited in east Detroit), but also won narrowly in mixed white/blue-collar suburbs like Livonia and Trenton.

And it won decisively in most suburban, white-collar, small town, and wealthy communities. In Grosse Ile and Grosse Pointe, two wealthy Detroit communities, it got 60 percent. In semi-rural Dafer township, it got 63 percent.

Continued on page 20.

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BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714) 225-1128.

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ELECTION

78



"Right-to-work is a rip-off" bumper stickers could be seen all over Missouri.

MISSOURI

Big union turnout stops right-to-work

By David Moberg

ST. LOUIS

UNIONS HAVE DONE A LOT for us. They have disrupted business, paralyzed public services and pushed up costs and prices. Unions have kept qualified workers out of work, forced them out of our state. When labor unions grow too strong, they grow corrupt and greedy. It happens every time. Vote 'yes' on Amendment 23. Keep unions under control in Missouri."

By election eve the radio ads had grown tough and nasty. The Missouri advocates of a "right-to-work" law talked less about how prohibition of the union shop—a contractual arrangement requiring workers to join a union within a month or two of their hiring—would bring more jobs to the state and would defend the individual right to refuse to join a private association. They talked more about labor bosses, corruption, violence and "crippling strikes that...take money out of your pocket."

The Freedom to Work Committee strategists were desperate. Earlier this year polls showed them with a commanding lead. Even as election day drew closer it seemed possible that they might ban the union shop in the nation's tenth most unionized, eighth most industrial state. "If the election had been a month ago," Robert Kelley, president of the St. Louis Labor Council, said the night before the balloting, "they would have won."

Yet when the votes were counted the next night, the right-to-work law went down to defeat by a nearly three-to-two margin, 628,041 in favor and 929,705 opposed, in a record turnout of voters in a non-presidential election.

Mass enthusiasm

In a year marked by numerous legislative setbacks for organized labor, it was a welcome victory that provided a sense of relief to unionized workers in other states. The zealous, last-minute effort of thousands of rank and file union members, aided by a hurriedly assembled coalition of black, feminist, environmental-

ist, farmer, religious and community organizations and by international union money and expertise, turned the tide. But mass enthusiasm was the key, United Auto Workers (UAW) legislative representative Jerry Tucker insisted: "Don't call it just a labor victory. It was a workers' victory."

The open shop, or right-to-work, movement had begun to revive itself in recent years with a legislative victory in Louisiana, defeat of a referendum to repeal a right-to-work statute in Arkansas and growth of the National Right to Work Committee from 25,000 contributing members three years ago to over 700,000 today, thanks to an aggressive direct mail campaign characteristic of the new right. Section 14B of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act had made it possible for states to depart from federal labor legislation on this one important question—the legality of the union shop.

When a right-to-work bill was introduced in the Missouri legislature in 1972, a United Labor Committee of Missouri, including the state AFL-CIO, the UAW, the Teamsters and the tiny Mineworkers contingent, was formed. It was largely inactive until this year when the three-year-old Freedom to Work Committee, with a core of Chamber of Commerce and Farm Bureau stalwarts and a few right-wing legislators, launched the new drive. First, they got publicity by introducing a bill, which was killed in committee. Then they got nearly a quarter million signatures on petitions to place the constitutional amendment on the ballot.

Multinationals stay neutral.

Although the political advisors to the campaign claimed to be more part of the libertarian right than the "new right" associated with direct-mail king Richard Viguerie, they admitted that they shared Viguerie's aggressive style. They picked up support from many small and medium-sized businesses, most of them family-owned and not vulnerable to consumer boycotts. Some big businesses, such as the utilities in St. Louis and Kansas City, did channel money into the campaign through special accounts with the

Chamber of Commerce or through the "educational" Council for Economic Development, which produced TV ads defending the right-to-work idea in a way that evaded requirements for disclosure of contributions imposed on political groups.

But the multinational, big-time corporations—such as McDonnell Douglas and Anheuser-Busch—appeared to have stayed neutral, preferring to live with unions rather than fight them. "Those bastards are in bed with big labor," Freedom to Work consultant John Brasington complained.

The National Right to Work Committee gave the Missouri campaign no money and—some of the Missouri activists complained—actually competed for funds. The national group, while wishing the Missourians well, distrusted the referendum strategy, preferring to win through state legislatures. But there were enough contributors to provide the Freedom to Work campaign at least \$2 million, not counting the undisclosed funds spent by the Council for Economic Development. (The unions say they spent about the same opposing Amendment 23, and each side says the other spent more than it revealed.) One successful direct mail list the Freedom to Work Committee used was drawn from employers accused of Occupational Safety and Health Act violations.

Freedom to Work surveyed 1.1 million Missourians to find supporters and to define the best issues. The unions responded with their own sophisticated polls. Both showed that early in the year a right-to-work law was favored by a two-to-one margin, with very heavy support even in union families.

Unions win argument.

Other than confusion about what right-to-work meant—many people thought it involved a promise of full employment—the open shop proponents' strongest issue was guaranteeing freedom of individual choice. The unions decided that they first had to educate their own members, who eventually were nearly 90 percent against Amendment 23 in one poll.

For those outside the union family orbit, they found three major issues: fear that a right-to-work law would weaken unions and eventually hurt them financially, fear that such a change would upset a fairly stable state economy (with around 4.8 percent unemployment), and belief in majority rule.

The open shop advocates had their own economic argument: more business would come to the state. But when the showdown came between the unions' argument that wages would be lowered and theirs that the business climate would improve,

both sides recognized that the fear of income loss was far stronger and more immediate.

"If it wasn't for the unions, I wouldn't be making what I do, and I'm not in a union," a normally Republican 25-year-old airline supervisor said after voting against Amendment 23. And a 43-year-old conservative electrical technician explained his "no" vote this way: "I figure the way things are now is OK. I'm not for union control, but I'm afraid that if the unions became weaker, a lot of people would suffer, the working class people."

Polls showed, true to national tendencies, that many people sympathetic to unions nevertheless felt that union leaders were corrupt and unresponsive. The Freedom to Work people hammered hard on this, arguing that they were simply trying to democratize the unions and protect individuals from union bosses. People may have felt that the unions needed reform, since, in the words of one union organizer, "the labor movement here has been fat and sassy, isolated, arrogant, totally non-responsive, totally out of touch." However, since the right-to-work group was obviously backed heavily by business, had almost no support from political figures or any other community representatives and could only claim 48 rather pathetic individuals as members of its Workers for Better Unions affiliate, their democratization arguments rang hollow.

Rural support.

The United Labor Committee faced initial handicaps in getting community support because of its weakness in working for ERA, its unpopular—even with its own ranks—positions on some crucial environmental issues, and its failures in recent years to exercise leadership in maintaining a progressive state political movement. Union members' participation in elections had also fallen off sharply in recent years, and Republicans were gaining in state politics.

Consequently, one of the key steps in the campaign was registering close to 100,000 voters from union members' families. Also, as the word spread through the union networks of family, neighborhoods, retiree clubs, churches (many black churches had anti-right-to-work messages in Sunday bulletins) and other organizations, the working class in a very broad sense became mobilized. The sympathy of many rural families to the argument that right-to-work laws guaranteed individual freedom was undercut by the awareness that many of their number traveled into the nearby city to work as union members in factories and offices.

The mass activity compensated for what many felt was labor's slow start. Many union leaders had hoped the courts would knock out the referendum but despite finding fraud in the petitions, the courts did not invalidate the vote.

The campaign brought out people like Shirley Giardina, 47, wife of a cement mason who showed up to work on election day with pants and jacket stenciled "vote no on amendment 23" and driving a car with a dummy mounted on top with the message "don't be a dummy—vote no." "I've got 11 kids and my husband's a union man," she said. "I'm afraid they won't eat if this passes. I've got all the kids out of school today. I figure this is a better education than a year in school. Who's for this? Just big business, the money people. I think you're going to see what unionism is all about this time. In unity there is strength."

"It's awakened the giant," St. Louis labor leader Kelley said on election eve. "If we win tomorrow, it's hang on to your ass time. The members have just realized how powerful they can be and they're turned on. It's reaffirmed our coalition and opened some doors—environmentalists, consumers. We won't agree on everything, but there is more respect, and labor may have its faults, but we are loyal." In the end, the right-to-work people may have done the labor movement in Missouri a big favor, if the energy it discovered this fall can be sustained. ■

PROPOSITIONS, DECENT & NOT

Voters scatter on most issues

By Al DiFranco

THE CANDIDATES MAY HAVE looked alike, but across the nation voters had a chance to deal directly with some issues in the form of ballot initiatives and referendums.

Issues ranged from approval of ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to a plan to reduce the cost of false teeth in Oregon.

On environmental issues, nuclear power plant construction suffered some notable setbacks, but their nervous promoters will still be able to unwind with a smoke in most public places in California.

There were more than 350 issues on ballots, with 40 initiatives put before voters as a result of petitions by special interest groups. Twenty-three states now have provisions for petitioned initiatives.

Nevada voters had the chance to recommend that their state legislature back the ERA, but the issue failed by a margin of two to one. About a fifth of the state's electorate belong to the officially anti-feminist Mormon church.

Florida's state ERA, a separate measure from the national ERA question, was voted down, as was a measure in Dade County that would have regained protection for gays as well as women.

Florida right-wingers used Anita Bryant in another media blitz, this time linking gay rights to ERA in election eve scare rhetoric.

Feminists got in some shots of their own, however, winning 106 of 143 races across the country where they had targeted anti-ERA candidates or supported pro-ERA campaigners.

In the Florida state senate race, anti-ERA Republican David Ray was stopped by Democrat Pat Frank.

In another Florida state senate race,

turncoat ERA supporter Jim McDuffie came in last in a five-way race, with feminists backing all four of his pro-ERA opposition. In the last election for his seat, McDuffie had backed ERA, but voted against it, preventing a tie.

Thirty-five states have now ratified the ERA, with three more needed for passage by 1982.

There was talk of national medical care by candidates, but you may have to travel to Oregon to get a bargain price on false teeth. Voters there approved a measure to allow dental technicians, in addition to dentists, to fit dentures. Proponents say that should amount to as much as a 75 percent reduction in costs on a new set of choppers.

But in North Dakota, a measure to allow the state's health council to set maximum fees for doctors failed by a three-to-one margin.

Perhaps the most significant victories for liberal and leftist coalitions were in the battle against nuclear power plants and radioactive waste dumping.

New Hampshire's GOP governor Meldrim Thomson lost a bid for a fourth term against an opponent who made the financing of nukes a campaign issue. (See page 8.)

In Montana, the Headwaters Alliance spent about \$15,000 compared with \$250,000 by pro-nuclear forces, but managed to put cost-prohibitive restrictions on reactor plants. The alliance emphasized economic factors and gained broad-based support.

In a state with large, untapped coal reserves, conservatives jumped on the anti-nuclear bandwagon as the other side continued to drive home its message of the economic irrationality of nuclear power in a state that one Headwaters member said could become "the coal-fired boiler room of America."

Right-wing GOP senatorial candidate

Lionel Delevigne



Nuclear power was voted down in Montana.

Lionel Delevigne

Bargain prices for false teeth in Oregon.
Frank Rizzo bites the dust in Philadelphia.

Larry Williams gave support to the anti-nuke measure, as did Montana members of the conservative National Taxpayers Union. The winner in the senate race, Democrat Max Baucus, was also against nukes.

In Missoula County, voters decided to ban reactors and radioactive dumping except for medical applications.

The statewide restrictions on reactor construction will require a bond of 30 percent of the new construction costs to be used to dismantle worn out and obsolete reactors—reactors now given a life expectancy of from 20 to 40 years.

Environmentalists in Alaska and Nebraska lost initiatives to require money-back deposits on soft drink and beer cans and bottles, but anti-conservationists in Oregon failed to strip the state's land development commission of some of its

power to protect the environment.

In 12 of 16 states that had tax cut or spending ceiling measures on the ballot, voters opted to tighten the purse strings. While most such measures were patterned after conservative tax schemes, Massachusetts voters said they want to increase commercial and business taxes, while lowering residential taxes. That measure was bitterly fought by business interests, but passed with the support of an overwhelming coalition of voters.

And finally, in Philadelphia, Mayor Frank Rizzo's attempt to change the law to allow him a third term in office failed by a solid two-to-one margin, as *ITT* predicted (Nov. 1). Rizzo, who had waged an openly racist campaign for the "white vote," was opposed on the eligibility issue by 96 percent of Philadelphia's black voters.

INTERESTING STATES

Right, right, left
right, left, right

•**South Carolina Senate** (Strom Thurmond, R. incumbent, 56%; Charles Ravenel, D. 44%)

Three-term veteran Strom Thurmond at 75 is a reformed old-guard segregationist. As Ravenel hit hard at his opposition to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Thurmond reiterated his support for the constitutional amendment to give congressional representation to D.C. Ravenel, Harvard educated "new South" politician returning recently from a successful New York business career, backed both the Panama Canal Treaty and Labor Law Reform.

•**Iowa Senate** (Roger Jepsen, R. 52%; Dick Clark, D. incumbent 48%)

Clark, one of the most liberal members of the Senate, heads the Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee on African Affairs and has been a strong advocate of American non-intervention and black majority rule. Jepsen accused Clark of helping Cuba and Russia with a policy of appeasement. Clark accused Jepsen of "red-baiting" and "McCarthyism."

Clark also supports liberalized abortion laws and opposed tuition tax credit. President Carter stumped hard for him.

Former Lt. Gov. Jepsen was heavily financed by Richard Viguerie's direct mail operation. Ronald Reagan stumped hard for him.

Because of Clark's vote in favor of the gas deregulation compromise, the Machinists union withheld support in October. Anti-ERA, pro-life and right-to-work interests fell in behind Jepsen.

•**New Jersey Senate** (Bill Bradley, D. 56%; Jeffrey Bell, R. 44%)

Former Reagan aid Bell picked off moderate Republican Clifford Case in the primary, but was unable to beat superstar Bill Bradley and his slickly packaged L.A. media campaign. A fresh, young, new right face financed by Viguerie, Bell built his campaign almost singularly around support for the Kemp-Roth proposal. GOP liberals and moderates gave him only cool support.

Bradley called Kemp-Roth inflation-

ary and introduced his own proposal to reduce federal taxes by \$25 billion.

•**Texas Senate** (John Tower, R. incumbent 50%; Robert Krueger, D. 50%)

In one of the bitterest campaigns of this election year, the "boozer and womanizer" (Tower, according to Krueger) eeked past "Little Lord Fauntleroy" (Krueger, according to Tower) to win re-election.

Labor liked neither, went with Krueger. Oil and gas interests hedged their bets but favored Tower who has been good to them. Tower's acknowledgement that he accepted jewelry from KCIA man Tong-Sun Park appeared not to matter to voters.

In the 64 years that U.S. Senators have been elected by popular vote in Texas, Tower is the only Republican to win.

•**Mississippi Senate** (Thad Cochran, R. 45%; Maurice Dantin, D. 32%; Charles Evers, Ind. 23%)

When 73-year-old James Eastland decided not to seek a seventh term, this seat became wide open. Thad Cochran will be the first Republican senator from Mississippi since Reconstruction.

Charles Evers, Mayor of Fayette and brother of slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, ran a flamboyant but conservative campaign and took a high percentage of the black vote. The message of this race is the pivotal role the black vote assumed across the South.

•**Wisconsin Governor** (Lee Sherman Dreyfus, R. 55%; Acting Gov. Martin Schreiber, D. 45%)

Lee Sherman Dreyfus has been called

"an anomaly," "a Don Quixote," "colorful" and "puzzling" by the press. A speech professor by training and on leave as chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point.

Campaigning in a red vest and an old school bus painted like a train, he traveled the state as a self-styled populist reviving the spirit of "progressive Republicanism" in the manner of the legendary progressive governor Robert "Fighting Bob" La Follette in the early 1900s.

Schreiber, who replaced Gov. Pat Lucey when the latter became ambassador to Mexico, did not do anything particularly wrong. A conservative businessman from Milwaukee who nonetheless had substantial labor support, Schreiber was just out-campaigned. Dreyfus favored a steeply graduated income tax.

•**Colorado Senate** (William Armstrong, R. 59%; Floyd Haskell, D. incumbent 41%)

The Democrats and labor wanted this one very badly. Calling Haskell "a national treasure" and "one of the greatest senators of all time," Carter stumped hard in Colorado. So did Mondale, Kennedy and Muskie. Haskell was also heavily supported by the AFL-CIO.

William Armstrong, heavily financed by the new right, conservative interest groups and the right wing of the Colorado Republican Party, assembled a formidable organization and is an effective campaigner. Armstrong backed tax cuts and reduced government spending and made Haskell's vote for the Panama Canal Treaty an issue.

—Ron Williams

ELECTION

78



Right-wing Democrat Bob Short lost a close race to a moderate Republican.

Paul Shambroom

By Anthony Schmitz

MINNESOTA

Republican sweep leaves DFL groggy

IN PARTY CIRCLES WEDNESDAY morning it was said that the Minnesota Democrat Farmer Labor Party suffered a setback. The more bitter truth is that the DFL was stomped.

The state Independent Republicans won both U.S. Senate seats and took the governor's. And they pulled even with the DFL in the state legislature, where a DFL majority of 64 was changed to an even split (each party now has 67 seats).

At 1:30 a.m. Wednesday, Sen. Wendall Anderson conceded to Rudy Boschwitz, whose notoriety before this year was earned by selling plywood and paneling on local television. Anderson said only that after this abrupt end to a 20-year political career he had no plans. He avoided listing the causes of his defeat, but they included his self-appointment to Vice-President Walter Mondale's Senate seat, his alienation of northern Minnesota voters with an environmentally weighted compromise on the sensitive Boundary Waters Canoe Area issue, and his involvement in the murky affairs of the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission. In that minor scandal it was disclosed that federal funds had been funneled to con-

sultants well connected to the governor's office. When asked about their work for the commission, some consultants could remember neither the conclusions they drew nor the specific research they did.

By the time Anderson conceded, the other DFL Senate candidate, Bob Short, had gone home to bed. Short, a millionaire businessman with a splotchy history of anti-labor activity, refused to give in to Republican David Durenberger until the next morning. Short had learned this lesson on primary night, when he went to sleep thinking that liberal Rep. Don Fraser had won. But late returns from northern and southern Minnesota gave Short the edge. On election night he left a portrait of Harry Truman hanging in the ballroom

of his Leamington Hotel as a combination vigil and shrine.

Not enough votes.

Next morning Short explained straight-faced to reporters that he lost "because I didn't get enough votes." One reason that he didn't is that he seemed more conservative than his Republican opponent. Short stridently supported constitutional limits on abortion. He favored tax cuts of over \$100 billion, and, unlike Durenberger, was opposed to controls on nuclear energy. Abandoned by the liberal wing of the DFL after a vicious campaign against Fraser, he came up short of liberal votes on election day.

Wednesday morning Gov. Rudy Per-

pich was also busy conceding his race. Perpich was edged out by Congressman Al Quie, who achieved some repute as spiritual confidante to Chuck Colson. Unlike Short, Perpich wasn't seen as sinister; he was more often portrayed as unpredictable and a bit daffy. A vintage Perpich story, appearing days before the election, told of a tantrum thrown by the governor over having to attend an important political meeting. Perpich was to be the main draw, but refused to go. His staff pestered, Perpich refused to budge. He finally slunk out of his office, around the corner of the capitol and into a wind-ow well, where he hid for an hour and a half. So much for affairs of state.

Quie, more lucid, if conservative and slightly ministerial, stressed improving the state's business climate by halving corporate income taxes and reducing personal income tax. His campaign workers distributed thousands of anti-abortion tracts in the last days of the election.

Cloudy meaning.

After allowing for wild election night claims concerning the triumph of two party democracy, the DFL's drubbing seemed more the result of personality than conservative backsliding. Short was more conservative than his opponent, Anderson was more liberal. Both lost. In Short's case the reasons were obvious. He was intemperate both in his early attacks on Fraser and in his later chain-saw analysis of cutting government fat. Short's \$1 million-plus campaign served only to remind voters of his wealth. Durenberger had the election handed to him as a reward by and large for keeping his mouth shut during the campaign.

Anderson, on the other hand, was seen by many to be a far-sighted mechanic of government. Reforms of property tax laws during his terms as governor are credited with heading off a holy war of taxpayers in the state. Anderson also increased state aid to education and froze senior citizens' property taxes. Still, Anderson's waffling on ending Reserve Mining's pollution of Lake Superior and on protection for the BWCA made him seem, above all, a political animal. His opponent Boschwitz hit hard on Anderson's abysmal attendance record in the Senate, and Anderson could put up little defense.

Very early Wednesday morning, Boschwitz took the podium in another hotel and said that he'd be the same kind of senator that Humphrey was. We are left with the impression that something is seriously off kilter in Minnesota.

Anthony Schmitz is a Minneapolis freelancer.

By Bob McMahon

RALEIGH, N.C.

NORTH CAROLINA

Senator No buys himself an election

JESSE HELMS MARCHED THROUGH a crowd of cheering supporters election night to announce, "I'm Senator No, and I'm glad to be here." Proudly accepting the label of negativism a Raleigh newspaper had given his Senate record, the Republican incumbent was there to claim victory by a 54-46 percent margin in the most lavishly financed senate race in U.S. history.

His easy defeat of Democrat John Ingram, North Carolina Insurance Commissioner, guaranteed that Helms, one of the arch-princes of the new right, will play a potent role in Republican presidential politics.

His outspoken role as an opponent of abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the Panama Canal Treaty had made Helms a well loved figure among Republican conservatives. An aggressive fund-raising drive by direct mail artist Richard Viguiera used this combination to draw over \$6.7 million from over 200,000 donors around the country.

This success that will be an important asset for the candidate Helms chooses in the 1980 primaries. Reports out of the Helms camp suggest the senator may be interested in the vice presidential spot. Meanwhile, Helms was suggesting a

week before the election that he might contest Howard Baker's hold on the post of Senate minority leader.

Helms showed strong support across the state, sustaining the coalition of Republicans and white Democratic conservatives that brought him victory in 1972 in a state that registers three-to-one Democratic.

In that year Helms ran as an anti-bussing candidate, after spending more than a decade on television as the voice of bitter-end resistance to desegregation. In 1978, although he emphasized opposition to racial quotas and to HEW pressure to desegregate the state universities, the racial rhetoric of his campaign was lower key. A racial joke about UN ambassador Andrew Young Helms used to open speeches was retired after drawing criticism.

Nevertheless, unlike many other Re-

publican candidates this year, Helms made no effort to develop support from the black community. His opponent, John Ingram, was overwhelmingly supported by black voters.

Helms' main campaign themes were to attack federal interference and government spending, to call for stronger measures against the Soviets, and to label his opponent as the choice of the "big labor bosses."

Ingram tried to counter by labelling his opponent "the six million dollar man," and suggesting that Helms' massive war chest showed he had sold out to special interests. A similar strategy had brought Ingram victory in the primaries against banker Luther Hodges Jr.

The sheer breadth of Helms' support among business political action committees and conservative donors, however,

undercut the credibility of linking the senator to particular groups, such as the oil lobby or the insurance industry.

Feebleness of populism.

Ingram also relied heavily on appeals for Democratic unity but many important leaders gave only token support to a candidate whose aggressive stance as a fighter for the little people offended the moderate-conservative Democratic establishment.

Ingram counted most on his image as a consumer advocate. His record as Insurance Commissioner had won him fervent support in the past, but this year the magic did not work. Helms too had established himself as a fighter for the little man by taking the conservative side on a host of social issues—abortion, the ERA, racial quotas, taxes—while North Carolinians felt threatened by.

Many of the issues that won the election for Helms were never discussed. Ingram tried to follow a classic populist approach of uniting voters on pocketbook issues while avoiding issues—race, sexism, labor unions, foreign policy—that might divide white and black, liberal and conservative.

His record on racial issues is far brighter than Helms'—but Ingram never mentioned it.

He tried to avoid the union label—often

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MACHINE POLITICS

Caretaker is chosen for Metcalfe's seat

By Beth Botts & John Fleming

ELECTION NIGHT IN CHICAGO found Bennett Stewart where he's been every election night since he went to work as a precinct captain for Mayor Daley's Democratic Party Organization in the 1950s: in a noisy, smoke-filled storefront campaign office on the South Side, crouched over a phone tabulating returns collected by the party's ward captains.

But this election was different. Stewart, a veteran alderman famous for his habit of bringing meetings to order with Amos'n'Andy imitations, was a candidate for U.S. Representative from the 1st District.

"Turn down that music!" he shouted across the crowded room to a bearded man playing disco over an enormous sound system. "I'm trying to get us some figures." The room grew quiet until Stewart got off the phone. "As it now stands," he reported, "we're on our way to Washington."

Stewart's victory, by nearly a two-to-one margin over Republican A.A. "Sammy" Rayner, ended the South Side's bitterest political fight in years. It began in early October with the death of Rep. Ralph Metcalfe. A week later, city Democratic party leaders nominated Stewart to replace Metcalfe, leaving the black community profoundly divided and more aware than ever of its powerlessness.

Metcalfe was not particularly influential on Capitol Hill, but he was a powerful symbol in local black politics. As an alderman and long-time ward committeeman Metcalfe worked his way up through the South Side's black Democratic organization to gain the 1st District seat in 1970. But shortly after his election he broke away from the party by blasting Daley

with accusations that the mayor was permitting, if not actually promoting, police brutality in the ghettos.

These charges had an emotional and political impact greater than Watergate among blacks. Attacking Daley upset the historic alliance between City Hall and the black wards forged by Metcalfe's patron and predecessor, William Dawson, a peg-legged congressman who for almost 20 years delivered huge election pluralities for Democratic candidates.

Metcalfe's death provided machine leaders with an easy opportunity to regain the congressional seat. Under Illinois law, the district's ten ward committeemen—important officials in Chicago because they control City Hall patronage jobs—are empowered to select replacement candidates. Despite intense community pressure for a special election to replace Metcalfe, the committeemen made a deal with the party's patronage secretary to nominate Stewart in exchange for jobs. "If you don't ask, you don't get," a committeeman remarked. "We got at least one more black judge."

The nomination set off three weeks of vicious name-calling and desperate maneuvering by anti-Stewart forces. To them, the slating of Stewart—a party loyalist who opposed Metcalfe's police brutality campaign along with the rest of the city council—was a blatant case of "plantation politics." In an effort to capitalize on the community outrage, Republicans went into federal court to replace their original token candidate with Rayner, a flamboyant former alderman who had earlier challenged the Democratic party establishment. Just days before the election, the various anti-Stewart forces settled on Rayner's campaign as the best way to protest.

But Rayner's short campaign was not



Bennett Stewart, the Blandic machine's nominee for the congressional seat made vacant by Ralph Metcalfe's death.

effective. Helped by a strong Democratic party showing throughout the city, Stewart carried every ward in the district. Despite the slim crowd that showed up at his headquarters for the election night vigil, Rayner spoke of his campaign as the beginning of a black independent movement in Chicago.

Stewart is plainly a caretaker for the job until the party grooms a candidate it can support for good. "At 63," he said, "I won't be there long."

The first fallout from the Stewart election will come this winter if Ralph Metcalfe Jr. runs for the city council seat his father once held. Young Metcalfe is not like other South Side politicians. The

manager of blues musician Lefty Dizz, Metcalfe is also well educated—a graduate of Choate and Columbia, where he was a leader in the 1968 demonstrations—and a serious student of astrology.

Under the pressure of his father's death, Metcalfe avoided the squabbles over the congressional seat. But on election night he was behind his father's old desk at ward headquarters collecting returns from the organization's precinct captains. "I'm appalled by Stewart," Metcalfe said. "He's not an appropriate replacement for my father. But I doubt he'll survive 1980. This community doesn't forget."

Beth Botts and John Fleming are freelance journalists in Chicago.

Seattle breaks the anti-gay voting pattern by stopping 13

By Margaret Carter

THE MOOD WAS HIGH. IN SEATTLE's Eagles Ballroom, jubilant gays stomped their feet and embraced in anticipated celebration. The morning returns confirmed the expected victory: Seattle had become the nation's first city to defeat an anti-gay initiative.

It was a significant triumph for gay rights advocates everywhere. Initiative 13, which could have repealed provisions protecting homosexuals under the city's fair housing and employment laws, lost by almost a two-to-one margin. In other important contests, the city passed an anti-busing proposal, Initiative 350, and reversed a restrictive gun-use policy by Seattle police, Initiative 15.

The struggle against 13 had a wide-based support. James O'Sullivan, a local gay city official who came out of the closet to help defeat 13, pointed out that "this isn't just a gay issue; the straight community is equally involved. People have a sense of community that transcends racial and sexual lines."

The most effective force for gay rights was a coalition of business, labor, political and religious leaders, and private citizens, Citizens to Retain Fair Employment. CRFE charged that passage would legitimize invasions of privacy and bigotry against all citizens.

More radical factions in the anti-gay movement were led by Seattle Citizens Against Thirteen (SCAT) and Women Against Thirteen (WAT). On election eve, these activists staged a march of 2,000 candle-carrying persons in downtown Seattle.

Not everyone was pleased with the outcome. Dennis Falk, a Seattle policeman and John Birch Society leader who co-chaired the Initiative 13 campaign remarked, "I don't think the issue of homosexuality is a dead issue at all in Seattle," he said at a gathering of SOME (Save Our Moral Ethics), the organization responsible for the initiative.

The Seattle Police Guild scored a victory on Initiative 15, a heated issue since the Aug. 9 shooting of an unarmed prowler burglary suspect, John Alfred Rodney, by officer Dennis Falk. The initiative allows the shooting of a suspect who has committed murder, manslaughter, mayhem, felonious assault, robbery, burglary, kidnapping, arson, rape or a felony involving a bomb, rejecting a recently implemented more restrictive city council policy. The council policy allowed officers to use "deadly force" only at the scene of a crime or in "hot pursuit" of a fleeing suspect who appears to have caused death or serious bodily injury to another person.

Margaret Carter is a Seattle free-lance writer.

Socialist loses in Maine by 39 votes in House race

By Ron Williams

RUSS CHRISTENSEN, RUNNING as a socialist on the Democratic ticket in Bangor, Maine (ITT, Sept. 27), came within 39 votes of winning a seat in the State House of Representatives.

His opponent, Republican Frank Carter, ran a campaign promoting "fiscal responsibility" in the tradition of Maine's conservative Gov. James Longley. This meant a crackdown on "welfare cheats," tax breaks for the paper companies that dominate the state's economy and a ceiling on government spending.

Christensen countered with a demand for guaranteed jobs in place of welfare, posing progressive taxation as an alternative to reduced spending. Striving to develop, in his words, a Marxist class analysis of the tax structure, he maintained that middle and lower income taxpayers have been penalized as the upper class "bows out of supporting social programs."

In a state where ten million out of 21 million acres of land are owned or controlled by paper giants like St. Regis, Great Northern, Diamond International or Scott, these corporate interests are the appropriate place to introduce a shift in the tax burden, Christensen told campaign audiences. "Two and a half percent of the population own all municipal bonds and pay no taxes on them."

Gov. Longley recently proposed an amendment to the state constitution that would have imposed a ceiling on state spending of approximately 10 percent over and above the last biennium. Christensen was active in a tax reform coalition of labor, university and public interest groups that successfully lobbied against the amendment in Augusta. That participation resulted in increased support for his campaign from the AFL-CIO and other groups that had initially been wary of a socialist candidate.

A major factor enabling Christensen to reach residents of the predominantly working class district in Bangor came from the grass-roots community work he has involved himself in since 1972. Christensen works as a staff attorney with Pine Tree Legal Services, an agency that offers free legal aid to low-income Maine residents, with Spruce Run, a Bangor women's crisis center providing free legal advice and with the Maine Woodsmen's Association, which organizes unrepresented paper workers.

Running an openly socialist campaign in a traditionally Republican area and emerging with 48 percent of the vote indicates that voters will respond to a socialist alternative if it is raised, says Russ Christensen. "In the last three months I have helped legitimate the discussion of socialism here. There are opportunities even in losing."

CALIFORNIA

Briggs, blacks lose,
Brown, Bird win

By Larry Remer

JERRY BROWN HANDILY WON A second term as governor of California, burying his Republican opponent, Attorney General Evella Younger, by more than 1.5 million votes. Brown's smashing victory protects his stature as a major national political figure and paves the way for a presidential bid in 1980 or 1984.

The California electorate also defeated an initiative that would have prohibited gays from teaching in the public schools. The 58-42 margin turning down this measure, which had been sponsored by fundamentalist state senator John Briggs, marks the first major defeat in the nation for an anti gay measure.

And Rose Elizabeth Bird, the first woman Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court, narrowly beat off a right-wing challenge to her confirmation and won a full 12-year term from the electorate.

But, both the corporate wing and the law-and-order wing of the California GOP made significant gains at the polls.

In the race for attorney general, state senator George Deukmejian, an ultra-conservative Republican who authored California's present death penalty statute, defeated black liberal congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke.

In addition, California's highest black elected official—Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally—was defeated by a 53-year-old record company executive, Mike Curb. Curb waged a vicious campaign, smearing Dymally for alleged misconduct in office, though never producing any evidence to substantiate his charges.

The political clout of big spending by

corporate interests was felt most clearly in the defeat of Prop. 5, an initiative that would have mandated the establishment of smoking and non-smoking sections in restaurants and other public places. Frightened by marketing studies showing that the passage of Prop. 5 could lead to a 15 percent drop in cigarette sales in California, tobacco interests pumped more than \$5 million into the campaign to defeat the measure.

Left-of-center and liberal forces should find little to cheer about in the results.

An analysis of the voting trends shows that the conservative shift in the electorate which began with the passage of Prop. 13 continues.

According to surveys of voters as they left their polling places, the huge Brown margin stemmed from the governor's complete turnaround on Prop. 13 and his efforts to prove himself as a tax-cutter and budget-slasher in the intervening months. Rose Bird's slim victory stemmed from the blatantly political campaign waged by the gun lobby and agribusiness in their drive to oust her.

As for the defeat of Prop. 6, the critical factor came with the endorsement of the No-on-6 efforts by Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan. Both GOP heavyweights declared that the measure posed a grave threat to individual liberties and created the specter of increased governmental interference in people's private lives.

The anti-government sentiment ran strong on all sides of the political spectrum, with the most significant development being the emergence of the Libertarians as an organized political force.

Campaigning against Prop. 6, against Prop. 5, and against the corporate establishment, Libertarian candidate Ed Clark—a Los Angeles antitrust lawyer—piled



Campaigners against the Briggs initiative.

Gary Friedman

up a surprising 500,000 votes for governor. The Libertarians embody the pro-capitalist ideology of most conservatives, with the moral overtones stripped away. It's a get-rid-of-government philosophy that encompasses both social and economic issues. And the sudden strength of their ap-

peal indicates that they could prove to be a force to be reckoned with in the future.

On the left side of the spectrum, California's progressive forces played a relatively minor role in the statewide races. The United Farm Workers worked very

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Berkeley goes left again, but across the Bay...

By Randall Risener

BERKELEY'S PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE won surprising victories this week over the moderate-conservative dominated City Council while San Francisco's rent rebate measure was defeated by well-financed real estate interests.

In what may spell the tenor of Berkeley's political future, that city's voters enacted Prop. 1 (a property tax savings rebate for renters), turned back a landlord-backed counter measure that was designed to confuse and rejected attempts to repeal the city's campaign financing law.

As enacted, Prop. 1 mandates a rollback of commercial and residential rents to June 8 levels and requires landlords to share 80 percent of their Prop. 13 property tax savings with their tenants.

The rent rebate measure has a statutory life of only one year and allows owners of rental property to raise rents in order to cover "optimate" expenses such as property improvements and rehabilitation.

Opponents of Prop. 1 collected and spent more than \$500,000 with contributions coming from as far away as Los Angeles, while the campaign for the initiative—spearheaded by the left-oriented Berkeley Citizen's Action group (BCA)—relied on a budget of around \$7,000 and volunteers who canvassed nearly two-thirds of the city's precincts.

Berkeley voters also trounced two other ballot measures: One, supported by Vice-Mayor Sue Hone, would have repealed the provisions of the city's campaign financing law limiting contributions to \$250, while the other, backed by Mayor Warren Widener, would have provided for run-offs if no mayoral candidate received a clear majority.

This election was a shot in the arm for BCA, which suffered crippling defeats in the city's last election. Mal Warwick, BCA's coordinator, hailed the election as "showing that we are a vital political force."

But while Berkeley's left celebrated, there was no euphoria for backers of rent rebate measures in San Francisco and the peninsula city of Palo Alto.

Because the majority of San Francisco residents are renters and housing costs are some of the highest in the nation, many believed that passage of that city's rent rebate measure—Prop. U—was essential to the success of a state-wide drive for similar initiatives.

"Simple answers don't always make a lot of sense," was the reason rent rebate measures in San Francisco and Palo Alto failed, said Don Solem, who coordinated the opposition campaigns.

A more accurate assessment, say rent rebate backers, is that by the time voters went to the polls, real estate interests had spent more than \$700,000 to defeat the two measures.

Similar rent rebate measures in Davis

and Santa Cruz passed and failed respectively.

Despite these defeats, rebate activists say they intend to continue their efforts. "Tenants are still entitled to a rebate," said one Prop. U coordinator, "and we won't go away."

Mike Dieden of the Campaign for economic Democracy (CED) also said his organization will continue organizing efforts around the issue. "Real estate interests in this state," said Dieden, "have not seen the last of renter rebate."

Other Contests.

In other contests, liberal state senator John Dunlap (D-Napa) was defeated by a well-heeled organized agribusiness campaign, limited growth candidates trounced pro-growth advocates in San Jose and the East Bay's progressive Tom Bates (D-Oakland) was, as expected, returned to the Assembly but by a numerical margin that may further fuel speculation over his political future.

Accused during the campaign of being too liberal for the rural, conservative district he represents, Dunlap was targeted for defeat by Republicans and organized agricultural interests who resented, among other things, the fact that he had co-authored the state's farm labor law.

In San Jose, incumbent Mayor Jane Grey Hayes, by a two-to-one margin, turned back a challenge by pro-growth advocate city councilman Al Garza in what had been one of the most bitter and

acrimonious campaigns in recent history. Hayes, who is an advocate of a "limited growth" policy for the city was joined in victory by a political ally, Jerry Estruth, who defeated pro-growth incumbent city councilman Joe Colla, giving limited growth proponents a majority of four in the City Council.

While Bates' reelection was never in question, supporters expressed concern over the size of his victory in what Louise Jaskulski, of Bates' advisory committee, termed a "test in a way." While handily turning back a well-financed and aggressive challenge by Republican Bob Nieman, Bates' majority (as this is written) was much smaller than previously.

In an election night interview, Bates implied what Jaskulski had already said—that changing demographics in his 12th Assembly District might well affect future contests. Bates' district comprises not only politically liberal sections of Berkeley and Oakland, but a chunk of the more conservative and rapidly growing Contra Costa County.

In addition, Bates said he has no intention of remaining in the Assembly forever and is considering running for the 8th congressional seat now held by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Berkeley), should Dellums seek a U.S. Senate seat, as it has been widely rumored, from the District of Columbia, if Congress grants full representation to D.C. However, "I will not," Bates said, "run against Dellums," a close political ally.

Lionel Delevingne



Gov. Meldrim Thomson (right) in happier times.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Rates for Seabrook defeat Thomson

By Cathy Wolff

W E WHIPPED CWIP!" election workers chanted at Democrat Hugh Gallen's campaign headquarters. The 53-year-old used car salesman had stopped arch-conservative Republican Meldrim Thomson's bid for an unprecedented fourth term as New Hampshire governor. The defeat, which should have a national impact on the financing of nuclear power plants, was also a victory for grassroots

consumer forces in New Hampshire.

Gallen engineered his campaign around one issue—opposition to Construction Work in Progress (CWIP) rate charges, which have been pinching New Hampshire electric consumers for almost a year. The financially-strapped Public Service Company of New Hampshire (PSC) has said it must have annual CWIP charges included in its rate base in order to finance construction of its controversial \$2.5 billion Seabrook nuclear plant.

Pleading poverty and the potential doom of Seabrook, PSC won the largest rate hike in its history last spring—\$30

million, with more than half of it going for CWIP and boosting people's electric bills 17 to 32 percent.

The state legislature passed a bill banning CWIP, but vehemently pro-Seabrook Thomson, with characteristic flourish, signed the veto at the Seabrook site.

Currently, PSC is asking the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for permission to pass CWIP along to its wholesale customers. It's joined in this request by 12 of the nation's most powerful privately owned electric companies, including Commonwealth Edison of Illinois and Commonwealth Edison of Boston. The consumer affairs office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is among those opposing the FERC request.

New Hampshire is the only state in the nation without income or sales taxes and Thomson's promises to fight so-called "broad-based taxes" propelled him into office three times. But Gallen grabbed that issue and threw it in Thomson's face, arguing that CWIP is a "broad based tax," forcing consumers to pay for costs normally picked up by investors in a pri-

vate company such as PSC.

Fuel was added to the anti-CWIP flame this summer when PSC announced 12 percent dividend gains for its stockholders, primarily gleaned from CWIP charges. Thomson attempted to waffle on his pro-CWIP stand, saying initially he would oppose any future CWIP charges. But after a private meeting with PSC officials, he revised that stand, saying he would oppose any CWIP rate hikes that exceeded cost of living increases.

Gallen refused to take a stand against nuclear power—specifically Seabrook—but he was strongly supported by the Campaign to Fight the Rate Hike of the Granite State Alliance, a loose coalition of progressive New Hampshire groups, including chapters of the Clamshell Alliance. The Campaign to Fight the Rate Hike launched an anti-CWIP fight more than a year ago, with members of the Clam helping in door-to-door canvassing and the collection of thousands of anti-CWIP cards.

The financial future of Seabrook is now in serious doubt. Gallen's election does not guarantee an end to the project, but PSC may be forced to sell off a large chunk of its 51 percent ownership. Considering the shaky history of Seabrook and the growing tendency of investors and electric utilities to move away from nuclear, this may be difficult.

"It's ironic the sun isn't shining today," said Sharon Tracy of the Clamshell Alliance, the day after the election. "It's definitely shining in our hearts, if not the sky. Six years of Thomson has cast a gloom over this state, made it a laughing stock in the nation and stifled free speech and thought. We feel as if a huge weight has been lifted from our backs."

Although CWIP was the major issue, a growing dissatisfaction with Thomson's politics and style also may have contributed to Gallen's victory.

Thomson supported Ronald Reagan's presidential primary bid in 1976 (much to Reagan's chagrin); called for the training of the National Guard in nuclear weapons; incarcerated hundreds of anti-nuclear protesters for two weeks in 1977; and frequently impinged on the free speech of state employees. He lowered the state house flags to half-mast when Carter declared amnesty for draft evaders; and on Good Friday and when the Panama Canal treaty was signed.

Late election night it was rumored that William Loeb's *Manchester Union Leader*, which backed Thomson over the years, had its own flags lowered. ■

MASSACHUSETTS

Conflict abounds in one-party rule

By Sid Blumenthal

BOSTON

T HE MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION was a stunning Democratic sweep with ambiguous implications. After the November balloting not a single Republican holds statewide office, yet this isn't necessarily a sign of progress.

The new governor, Edward J. King, is a staunch conservative who refused to veer toward the center throughout the campaign. His victory is the most significant in terms of local impact.

Paul Tongas' triumph for the U.S. Senate seat, however, is the most symbolic. While Brooke's defeat leaves the Senate lily-white, Tongas takes much more consistently progressive stands than Brooke.

The most hopeful election result is the victory of a progressive tax reform ref-

erendum issue, which united citizen action groups, unions, the Catholic church and Boston mayor Kevin White's nascent political machine. This proposition, facing strong business opposition, passed overwhelmingly, by a far greater margin than California's Proposition 13. In Boston, it passed by 12 to one. But the coalition that passed it may be more an outgrowth of local conditions than an example that can be emulated nationally.

Restoring a go-go atmosphere.

For Massachusetts voters the gubernatorial race was the most engaging contest. Ed King won the Democratic nomination by beating incumbent Michael Dukakis, who in comparison to King looks like Salvador Allende. King has an authoritarian character, reactionary inclinations, with a nimbus of scandal hanging around him.

As director of the Massachusetts Port

Authority, he ignored complaints from the neighborhood of Logan airport that their community was being ruined. King sent bulldozers to knock down trees on residential blocks to make way for trucks hauling dirt and gravel. He seized land, including the largest park, to make way for runways, some of which were never built, and he refused to even consider the citizens' protests.

King ran Massport as a personal fiefdom. Most employees owed their jobs to patronage. He dispensed 54 American Express cards to his aides, which they used to run up hundred thousand dollar bills in fancy restaurants entertaining friends, reporters, politicians and lobbyists. When King was finally fired in the mid-'70s, he finagled himself \$100,000 in severance pay.

King's list of contributors matched the list of contractors when he was director. He ran for governor on a pro-growth platform, an enticing prospect to real estate speculators and his old business associates. He was for nuclear power plants, offshore oil drilling, gutting environmental protection laws, for highways and massive government building projects. He wants to restore the go-go atmosphere of the '60s, in the era of lowered expectations. His program was beefed up with calls for restoring the death penalty, against abortion and appeals to the building trades unions eager for jobs.

At the beginning of the campaign,

King was ahead by 32 points. When the votes were counted, Frank Hatch, the moderate Republican, lost by only five. Faced with the ominous prospect of a King governorship, liberals dashed to the Hatch camp. Hatch also garnered 75 percent of the Jewish vote and 60 percent of the black vote, a substantial achievement for a Republican.

O'Neill tips the balance.

Hatch lost some momentum when stories in the *Boston Globe* and other newspapers, detailing King's peccadillos while he was Massport chief, suddenly stopped. U.S. House speaker Tip O'Neill came home to shepherd recalcitrant liberals and moderates back into the fold. Tip's son, Tom O'Neill, the candidate for lieutenant governor, was himself tepid about King, and had to be prodded to show some enthusiasm.

An appearance by Jimmy Carter helped identify King as a regular Democrat, though at the Carter rally, Sen. Edward Kennedy slighted King by neglecting to mention him by name. In the end, King won because he was a Democrat in a state where the Republican party could hold a convention in a diner. A sizeable number of King voters didn't believe his principal campaign promise that he would cut \$500 million in the state budget, but they didn't want to vote for a Republican.

That explanation only partly suggests

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IN THE WORLD

IRAN

Shah's opponents cite dire poverty and tyrannical rule

SHAH MOHAMMED REZA PAHLAVI IMPOSED MARTIAL LAW THROUGH- out his country Nov. 5, appointing the army chief-of-staff as his prime minister and a list of other high military commanders to the cabinet. The move appears to be little more than a holding action, as strikes continue to paralyze the entire economy and opposition forces arm themselves for the long haul.

Rioters took over large sections of Tehran and several other cities Nov. 4-5, burning government offices, banks, luxury shops and foreign-based corporate holdings after troops opened fire on student demonstrators. Bank records and pictures of the shah went up in smoke, as did several government ministries and the British embassy, while homes of key American "advisors" were fire-bombed. Shouting "The American shah must be hanged!" the protestors were joined by hundreds of automobile drivers honking their horns and racing through the city shouting similar slogans.

The martial law order prevented further large scale riots, but smaller bands of demonstrators set bonfires in side streets, and a major fire swept through the offices of the national Iranian Gas company. The head of Iran Air, a former general with strong ties to SAVAK, was assassinated near his home.

Meanwhile, the \$60 million/day oil industry remained shut down by strikers, despite reports to the contrary. Workers in construction, heavy industry, agriculture, transport, health, finance, education, and communications likewise refused to honor the government's back-to-work orders. Threats that military troops would be sent in to run the oil fields were met with universal ridicule.

In an effort to take the edge off the mass protests, the government has arrested more than 100 top officials, including former Prime Minister Abbas Hoveida and Gen. Nematollah Nassiri, former head of SAVAK and, until recently, considered the number two man in the government. The arrests have left the police agencies directionless, unable to crack down on opposition forces with the guarantee of immunity that once was taken for granted. They have been further weakened by growing mutinies in the bottom ranks of the police and military forces, most of whom are young conscripts pulled out of the working class.

Faced with the possible overthrow of its foremost ally in the Third World, the Carter administration has been quick to throw its weight behind the shah. "We support the shah and his decision...[to impose martial law and appoint a military government]," State Department spokespeople told reporters over the weekend, "to assure the public order essential to moving toward elections." Reporters were told that, while no one is now contemplating the deployment of U.S. troops to Iran, "several contingencies do exist."

—Linda Heiden

By Ervand Abrahamian

THREE MILLION IRANIANS—ranging from Moslem clergymen to U.S.-trained engineers—have been demonstrating against the Shah of Iran, their country's "king of kings" and reputedly the Mideast's most popular ruler. In downtown Tehran, the shah's troops—until now considered a bulwark against communism and terrorism—fire American-made rifles into a crowd of 2,000 unarmed demonstrators staging a peaceful sit-down strike. A European eyewitness says the scene reminds him of a firing squad. The British Broadcasting Corporation estimates that in 45 minutes the shah's troops have killed 475 of their own countrymen.

What is happening in Iran, until so recently considered, along with Israel, America's most stable ally in the Mideast? What is happening to the shah, until the latest killings considered not only a loyal friend of the U.S., but also a model of enlightened Third World leadership?

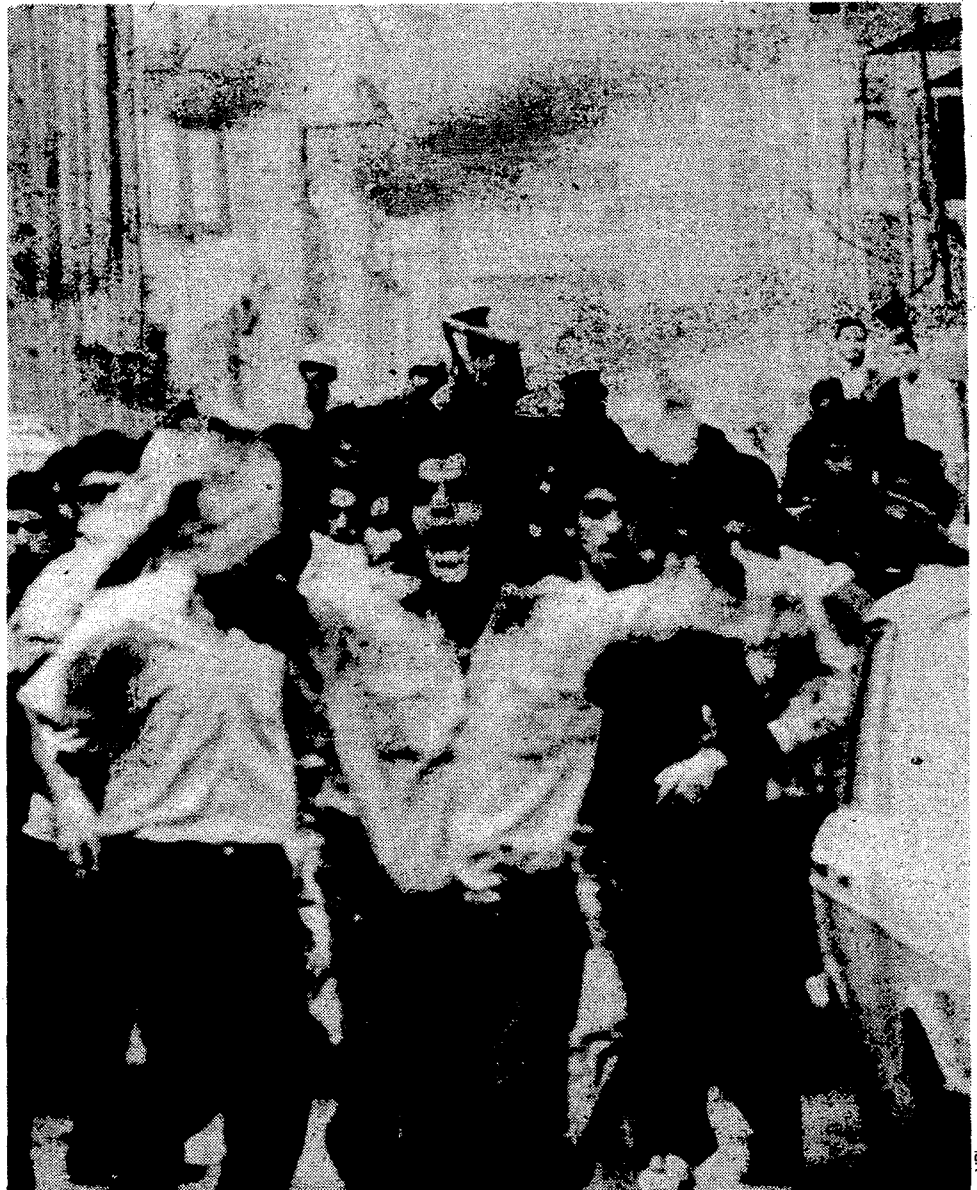
The size and intensity of the disturbances have shaken the shah and along

with him a quarter-century of American myths about the oil-rich nation and its oppressive royal autocracy.

Since 1953 when the CIA helped overthrow Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq's constitutionally elected government, American diplomats, officials and the press have portrayed Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi as a "popular reformer" distributing lands to the poor, eradicating "feudal inequality" among his subjects, performing "economic miracles" with Iran's oil revenues and creating a better life for the country's 36 million people and "an island of stability amid Middle East chaos" that served strategic American interests.

Thus the perplexity in the American and Western press. How can such an enlightened ruler find himself in so much trouble with his own people?

The reason is that Americans have consistently ignored facts about the shah and Iran that are all too evident to Iranians themselves. After 25 years of the shah's White Revolution and billions of dollars in oil revenues, three out of five rural families are either landless or nearly landless. Millions of agricultural workers have been uprooted and forced into the cities



Student demonstrators in Tehran, Oct. 29, shout slogans as soldier (in background) fires a warning shot.

in search of work.

American newspapers have reported the shah's comments about education for years; they have paid far less attention to the fact that 60 percent of the adult population remains illiterate. Over the years Americans have read much about Iran's 2,500-year-old monarchy. It seldom has been shown on our television screens that the shah's family only gained power in the 1920s when his father overthrew the constitutional government; that the shah himself kept his throne in the '50s only by overthrowing another constitutional government; and that this year the shah has kept power again only by ordering the most brutal public killings since 1911. Behind the continuing popular discontent lie financial scandals involving the royal family and one of the greatest inequalities of income distribution in the world.

In recent years, while the myths of the benevolent shah and the country's social progress gained wide acceptance, the situation has grown even worse for many Iranians. Much is reported on the oil boom, the emancipation of women and the shah's admiration for the Western democracies. The squalid, poverty-stricken shanty towns surrounding Tehran and Iran's other major cities are largely ignored. Demonstrations by Iranians, mostly students, living in the U.S. against SAVAK, the shah's secret police, were believed to represent only the discontents of a small group of expatriate dissidents.

Wasn't SAVAK necessary to combat the threat of terrorism, the menace of communism in a crucial and unstable part of the world? In fact the shah was constructing a totalitarian regime that controlled all newspapers, unions and professional associations—a police state with one of the world's highest proportions of political prisoners, deaths under torture and military executions.

For those with knowledge of conditions in Iran, the recent turmoil was not as surprising as the consistent failure among the shah's supporters abroad, especially in the U.S., to recognize the developing national crisis. As the Annual Report of Amnesty International noted more than three years ago, "The Shah of Iran retains his benevolent image despite the highest rate of death penalties in the world, no valid system of civilian

courts and a history of torture beyond belief."

Iran's growing troubles dispelled one myth—that the shah is a beloved and revered ruler. But the crisis already has engendered a new myth: that the shah is in deep trouble with his own people not because of the mistakes he has made and the violations of human rights he has sanctioned, but because he has been too good, too well-intentioned and too progressive for the "backward-looking" masses.

The shah is now portrayed as a genuine modernizer whose only error has been to create a reactionary backlash by trying to do too much for his people too soon. His opponents are dismissed as "religious fanatics" and "conservative diehards" who want to undo all the shah has achieved and turn back the clock to the days of the veil and medieval feudalism.

The shah's opposition in fact now includes every political tendency in Iran with the exception of staunch monarchists. It is led by two major groups, both consistently misrepresented in the West. They are the National Front (dismissed as communists back when the CIA supported the shah against them) and Iran's Moslem religious authorities (dismissed as feudal reactionaries today, as President Carter takes time off from his human rights crusade to telephone the shah to assure him of total support from the U.S.).

The National Front is headed by Western-educated democrats—intellectuals, lawyers, teachers and professionals. It includes moderate liberals, secular reformers and democratic socialists. The group's main demand is the restoration of the constitutional system established in 1911 but disregarded by the shah's family since 1926, when it seized the throne.

Modelled on the Belgian constitution, the Fundamental Laws of Iran separate the judiciary from the executive and place legislative powers in the National Assembly. They guarantee citizens basic political rights that the shah consistently has denied—especially the right to vote, petition and organize.

The National Front also calls for progressive taxation and the nationalization of large companies. They want to prune

WORLD ECONOMY

Carter ties dollar boost to U.S. export drive

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA

ON SEPT. 25, JIMMY CARTER put his new-found "reputation as a global leader" behind a strategy to redress the huge American balance of payments deficit. Last year's record trade shortfall of \$26.7 billion has been blamed for—among other things—the recent slump of the dollar and subsequent chaos in the international monetary system.

In his speech to the International Monetary Fund-World Bank September meeting in Washington, Carter pledged a two-front war on the deficit. First, American economic growth, now running at 4-5 percent annually, would be slowed in order to curb inflation. Presumably, this would be done through the classic formula of a wage-price freeze and a hike in interest rates. One result would be less spare change for imports.

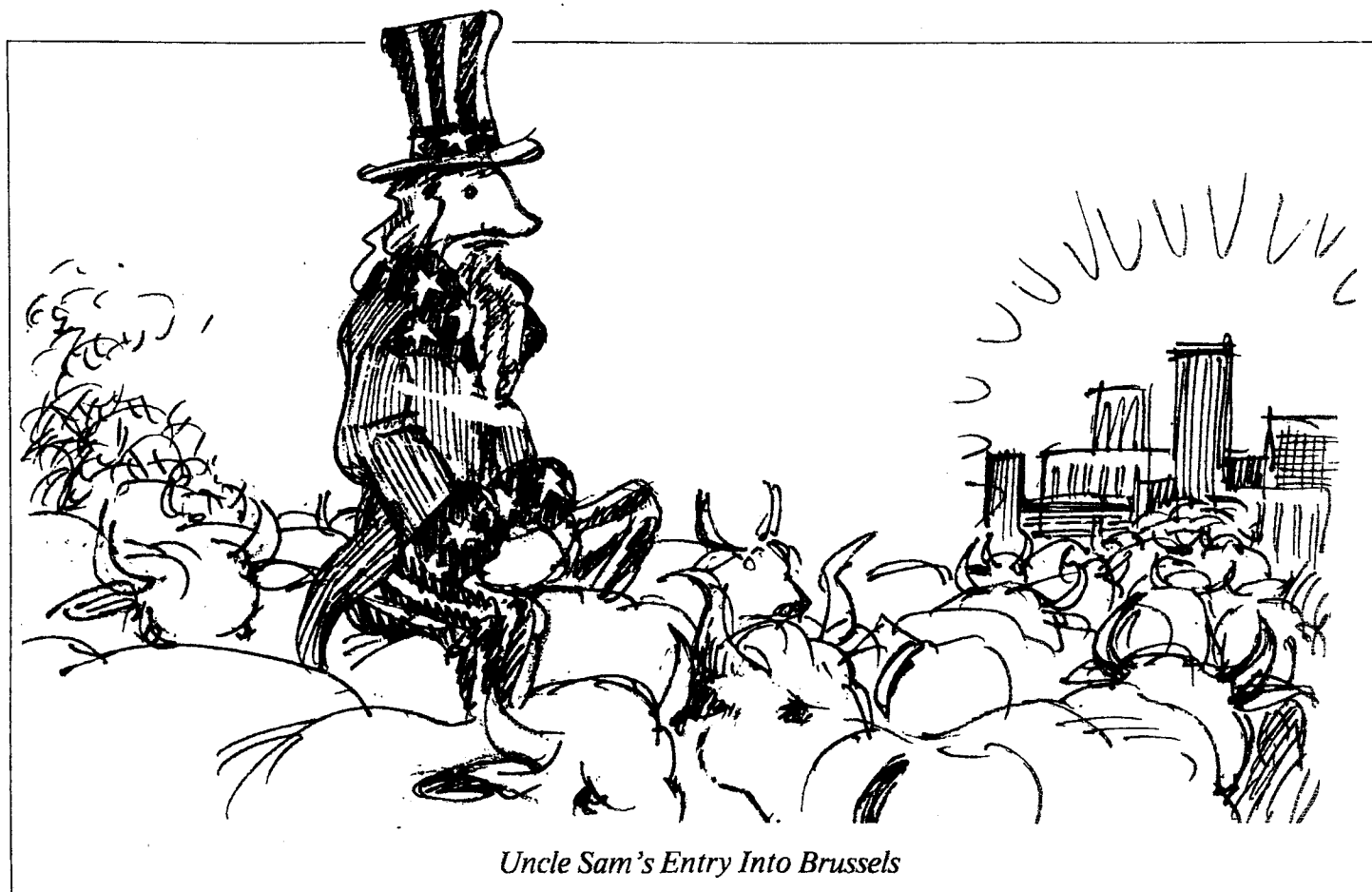
Second, Carter unveiled a new government scheme to attack the export side of the deficit equation. Federal seed money and other trade promotion gimmicks would be used to boost American exports by \$5-10 billion over the next five years.

For most people, the President's package contained more bad news than good. For American labor, Carter's address confirmed the administration's intent to press for wage controls. But it also signalled a retreat on full employment. Labor was again put on notice that Washington is unwilling to protect employment from overseas competition.

Unless Congress rules otherwise, tariffs on incoming steel and textiles, for example, will not be raised. For many workers in these sectors, the result will be unemployment or, at best, "recycling" for jobs in industries that the Carter administration deems competitive. The lucky ones, of course, will get to share in the promised export boom in the 1980s.

Cutting back oil imports.

For the U.S.'s "Trilateral partners," the



Uncle Sam's Entry Into Brussels

news was not much better. To be sure, U.S. deflation would probably firm up the dollar and ease pressure on foreign exchange markets, while making American goods somewhat more expensive abroad. The worrisome part was Carter's strong implication that American deflation would have to be matched by a big dose of European and Japanese inflation or the whole deal was off.

This was the bottom line of Carter's export promotion scheme. Not only would American consumers have less money to buy Hondas and Liebfraumilch in the near future, but Europe and Japan would be asked to import substantially more from the U.S.—and at higher prices. This was not what Helmut Schmidt and Takeo Fukuda had wanted to hear.

The Europeans and Japanese had wanted Washington to do something about the

American trade deficit. But they had cutting back oil imports in mind. Experts now suspect that their support for Carter's ill-starred wellhead tax was due less to concern about American inflation than about the comparative advantage being enjoyed by the U.S. chemical industry.

American chemical firms have gained ground on overseas competitors lately as a result of our dollar devaluation and cheap petroleum feedstocks. This is no minor irritant: Seven of the world's top ten chemical firms are Europe-based.

But the Europeans and Japanese should have known that the administration's energy bill would take a beating from Congress, especially when figures were released this spring showing that the 1977 deficit wasn't due to gas-guzzling after all, but to soaring imports of manufactured goods. Putting this information

together with the common knowledge that Washington isn't eager to use protectionist devices to narrow the trade gap, they might have concluded that Carter had only one real political option left: deflation plus export promotion.

In any case, Carter's announcement of a U.S. export drive can't have been much of a surprise. It has been underway for nine months, in the context of the GATT Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN) in Geneva (ITT, March 29). Here, the President's special trade negotiator, Robert Strauss, is engaged in his greatest jaw-boning exercise ever, trying to convince the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Japanese to open their markets to more U.S. goods, especially farm produce.

Next week: American economic conflicts with Western Europe.

Judge rules Brazil guilty of torture

By Dick Goldensohn

IN AN HISTORIC DECISION THAT IS likely to reverberate throughout Latin America, a 32-year-old Brazilian federal judge ruled last Friday that the Brazilian government was responsible for the false imprisonment, torture and death of journalist Vladimir Herzog. The government will have to pay compensation to Herzog's widow and two sons for "the material and moral damages that resulted from his death." Herzog died at a federal interrogation center in Sao Paulo on Oct. 25, 1975. The government maintained that he committed suicide by hanging himself. Civilian witnesses, who were also being held at the center known as DOI-CODI, testified that he was tortured to death.

It is the first time that a legal challenge on behalf of a political prisoner or his family has been successful in over 14 years of military rule in Brazil. The decision comes at a time when there is growing agitation for amnesty for political prisoners and others penalized by the government for their political beliefs. The judge, Marcio Jose de Moraes, who said he dealt with the case "just like any other," also ordered the Solicitor General of Military Justice to review, for possible criminal prosecution, all cases of torture that came

out during the Herzog trial.

The government, according to the judge, "practiced the crime of the abuse of authority." He said it was apparent that "torture had been practiced not only on Herzog but also on other political prisoners in the offices of DOI-CODI."

Herzog was a popular Sao Paulo journalist who had been culture editor of *Visao*, one of Brazil's leading newsmagazines. At the time of his arrest, Herzog was working for a Sao Paulo educational TV station. His arrest was said to be in connection with an inquiry into the re-organization of the Brazilian Communist party. In fact, his arrest may have been part of a power struggle between right-wing military officials and the more moderate President Geisel. Herzog's case won international attention partly because of his prominence and partly because it was so well documented.

"Even though the truth was always clear," said Herzog's widow, Clarice, who led the fight for judicial review, "it was essential to get the word of Justice." She added that "getting the case to court in the first place was the hardest part. It was really like a Kafka story—all the obstacles they put in our way." The family is also pursuing criminal charges against those who committed the acts against Herzog.

Torture first became prevalent in Brazil as a means of political suppression in 1968 when large-scale protests against the military regime provoked a crack-down.

The Brazilian Journalists Union praised the decision as "a great step taken in defense of human rights in Brazil."

Herzog's widow praised the decision as "going much further than we thought." "I know it's an important political landmark," she added. "But I would prefer to have alive the father of my children." ■

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Secretary of State Cyrus Vance escorts Egyptian peace negotiators Boutros Ghali and Lt. Gen. Kamel Hassen Ali into the State Department, Oct. 30.

By David Mandel

CAIRO

MIDEAST

FOUR YEARS AGO, MOHAMMED Sid-Ahmad wrote a controversial book—*When the Guns Fall Silent*. The Egyptian journalist predicted, and advocated, peace between his country and Israel. He envisioned regional development schemes and even joint industrial ventures along the border, the help insure peace.

With the apparent imminence of an Egyptian-Israeli treaty, and serious talk, hardly imaginable a year ago, of wide-ranging economic cooperation and trade, Mohammed Sid-Ahmad might now reap the rewards of having pioneered President Anwar Sadat's peace policies. Instead, he is again taking an unpopular view, along with others of the Egyptian left: against the Camp David agreements, and against Sadat's economic policies. As a result, Sid-Ahmad, although he still draws a salary and maintains his office at *Al-Ahram*, Cairo's leading daily, cannot publish a thing. And 85 of his comrades in the Progressive Union Party, Egypt's only legal opposition, were arrested in mid-October, charged with inciting against the regime.

The left is not opposed to peace, Sid-Ahmad and others to whom we spoke stressed. As far back as 1948, Egyptian communists were the only party vocally to accept partition of Palestine and oppose the Arab war policy. But there are different kinds of peace. And Camp David, in their view, means a separate agreement by Egypt, dividing the Arab world, leaving the basic Palestinian problem unsolved, and in sum, opening the door to further U.S. domination of the region.

The left's view, however, does not seem to be shared by many Egyptians. Enthusiasm for peace, for Sadat, for Carter, and even for Menahem Begin is running high—an incredible turnabout in popular consciousness. But this euphoria could change, perhaps as quickly as it arose.

Egypt's left attacks separate peace, but majority applauds

The real issue is not peace, but prosperity. After Camp David, most Egyptians will expect economic miracles, and when they don't occur, Sadat will be in trouble.

About 70 percent of Egyptians are illiterate. Their information comes only from the state-run radio and TV, where the opposition has no voice. The situation in print is not much better. The left-leaning *Al-Talia*, which Sid-Ahmad helped edit, was closed down several years ago. The "legal" left party's *Al-Ahali* has been confiscated every week for the last two months. Only an internal bulletin and occasional manifestos are distributed, privately.

Whoever controls Egypt from the top can regulate information, and public opinion. And today, there are many question marks at the top of Egyptian politics. Crucial decisions are being made by Sadat and a handful of close advisers. Even if the major cabinet reshuffle of early October was only to keep potential enemies off balance, included among those sacked were Foreign Minister Mohammed Kamel (still not replaced) and army chief Gen. Mohammed al Ghang Gamasy.

The military establishment's support is crucial for Sadat. Few clues to its attitude are known, but it is certainly unlikely to be one of Egypt's happiest parties amidst a quick changeover to peace.

Effect on the economy.

Most important, perhaps, because it involves the whole population, will be the effect on Egypt's economic situation of peace with Israel. The masses have come to expect miracles, and they will indeed be required. The countryside remains underdeveloped, with more and more people streaming into Cairo, a city built for about one-quarter of the ten million now there. Industrial wages, for those who can find jobs, average about \$50 a month. Only massive government subsidies on basic food items, transportation and other necessities keep most people alive.

Sadat's attempt to remove some of these subsidies in January 1976 led to se-

vere riots, which the army could put down only by killing several hundred people. And Sadat was forced to reinstate the subsidies.

Peace could free some funds for social welfare, and perhaps foreign investors would feel a little more secure, as Sadat hopes. Carter, the IMF and Saudi Arabia may continue to bail him out, to a point. But they all have their own interests, which come before those of the Egyptian masses.

Though Nasserism was far from a socialist revolution—had it been, Sadat's turnaround would not be so easy—millions of Egyptian peasants and workers gained experience in self-organization as well as material gains during the '50s and '60s. Labor unions exist in most large industry (nearly all of which is state-owned), and though their top leadership collaborates with the bosses, many unions remain strong at the grass-roots level. The majority of strikes, we are told, are wildcat—and some have been surprisingly well organized.

The effect on Israel.

How would the sharpening of class conflict in Egypt affect the peace with Israel? Probably not very much: People on all levels seem truly tired of *that* war. An "Egypt first" attitude—flavored by each person's other political views—pervades the country. Even the left opponents, in their agitation against the accords, stress not so much the Palestinian issue, as the infringement on Egyptian sovereignty in Sinai—unilateral demilitarization, U.S. bases, etc.

The Egyptian left cannot realistically hope to stop the agreement with Israel and the U.S. The Sinai part of the deal was all but signed last year in Jerusalem and Ismailia, anyhow. The remaining question is how much Begin will give on the Palestinian issue; how little Sadat can get without becoming too isolated from other Arab conservatives; or perhaps more accurately, since both Begin and Sadat accept their countries' subservience to U.S. global policy: How much pressure the U.S. will put on whom in order to widen its hold beyond Israel and Egypt. There now seems to be pressure on Israel to promise a little more, and tremendous pressure on Jordan and Saudi Arabia to play ball. With Lebanon still smoldering and Iran beginning to crack apart, Carter is anxious to stabilize the new Israel-Egypt alliance.

That is, to be precise, the alliance between the Israeli and Egyptian bourgeoisie and U.S. capital. If all goes "well," it could extend beyond Mohammed Sid-Ahmad's wildest dreams: A handful of settlements in Sinai may be dismantled, but Israeli entrepreneurs may soon be called upon to fulfill their national duty by pioneering investment, with American help, at the same sites. There are rumors of sales of Egyptian Sinai oil, which the Israelis developed, to the Jewish state. An emissary of the U.S. Agency for International Development was in the area in late October to explore the potential for educational cooperation between the two countries, and there is widespread talk of cultural exchanges.

Sid-Ahmad and the Egyptian left oppose the Camp David accords because they do not answer the national demands of all parties to the Middle East conflict. Removal of Egypt as a military threat to Israel may even allow the latter to intensify its repression of Palestinians, or its intervention in Lebanon. But these events, too, mirror how much things have changed in the Middle East since not very long ago when it looked as though there was only one war: Jews vs. Arabs.

Mohammed Sid-Ahmad, however, discussed another aspect of Egyptian-Israeli peace in his book. Besides the "horizontal contradictions between states in the Middle East, he said, there exist "vertical contradictions within each society. If the former begin to be settled, the latter will come to predominate within each society, and will even cut across national borders, once they are made penetrable to peaceful exchange.

Today, peace is apparently being made on what has been the bloodiest front of all for 30 years. But other fronts, including the highly explosive one of class struggle inside Egypt, are already being prepared.

WHEN YOU COMING BACK, RED WRITER?



A new generation of Hollywood leftists makes fast-paced movies and TV programs, with plenty of action and a social conscience.

By David Talbot

Once upon a time there was a Hollywood left. They fought against fascism, helped elect liberal candidates, and organized entertainment unions. They also made hundreds of movies, some of which have stood the test of time (such as Abraham Polonsky's *Force of Evil* and *Body and Soul*). We learned about these Hollywood radicals from books (Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time*), plays (Eric Bentley's *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been?*) and films (*The Way We Were*, *Hollywood on Trial*). We also learned that this community was destroyed by witch-hunts of the 1940s and '50s. Only a handful of Hollywood leftists blacklisted during the Cold War have made successful comebacks.

Today there is a new generation of leftists in Hollywood—dozens of men and women politicized by the events of the 1960s who work at every level of the entertainment industry. Unlike the 1930s, when the Communist Party was active in the movie capital, there is no industry-wide organization capable of drawing together today's Hollywood progressives. They operate mostly in isolation from one another—participating in political endeavors when the spirit moves them and trying, when possible, to make their films and TV shows reflect their social views.

New leftists went into the entertainment industry for many reasons. Not only is it a key center of communications, but

the money is good, and film and television production can be stimulating work. One young Hollywood leftist compares the studio meetings where film projects are discussed and set in motion to the late-night strategy sessions he attended during the anti-war movement. There is the same wound-up energy, the same sense of urgency, the same exciting interplay of thoughts.

Like everyone in Hollywood, progressive filmmakers work within a rigid commercial framework. They cannot stray far from conventional story lines, characters, and stylistic techniques without bumping into studio resistance. Nonetheless, they have produced an interesting range of movies and TV shows over the last few years. Hollywood's new left has been associated with such films and TV programs as *Coming Home*, *Blue Collar*, *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings*, *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*, *The Big Fix*, and the upcoming *China Syndrome* (see accompanying interview).

Some of Hollywood's new left are highly optimistic about what can be accomplished. They predict that more and more socially provocative films will come out of Hollywood, as young progressive filmmakers learn how to "package" and sell their projects.

"Everything works by the numbers here," says writer-director Mike Gray. "Once you learn how to press the buttons, you've got it made. This industry is bubbling over with talented, concerned

people—many of whom have arrived here recently from the East. It's very exciting to be here right now."

Gray moved to Hollywood in 1973, after working for several years in Chicago as a documentary filmmaker (*The Murder of Fred Hampton, American Revolution 2*). He turned away from documentaries because he felt they have a limited social impact. Hollywood was the place to be, he decided, if you're interested in reshaping American culture. "What goes down here affects—and has affected—the course of world history.... This is where it's possible to actually get a hand on the throttle, as it were. There's no other place you can do it."

Other young Hollywood leftists speak about their work less grandly. "Real egalitarianism, real democracy won't come about as a result of the Movie of the Week," says TV writer Lynn Phillips. Phillips was a member of the New York Newsreel, a radical film collective, in the late 1960s. She came to Hollywood in 1976 to join the writing staff of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. Since the demise of that show, she has worked on several other TV series.

Phillips does not see her TV career as working for social change. "The word 'change' is so huge," she says, "and I feel so modest beside it." She doubts that her shows significantly influence the TV audience. "My words reach millions. [They're sandwiched] between 18 hours of guest panelists and six hours of Ultra-Brite. Is that power, or a bird in the bush?"

Mary Hartman, she says, reinforced a perception of the world already shared by many people. "I don't think its function was radically to change people or do anything spectacular or push them in a certain direction. But I think it was a kind of spiritual maintenance—an airing out, an ordering. It was housework of the soul."

Hollywood's new left tends to accept the industry's style of filmmaking. They believe, for the most part, that the primary task of a film is to entertain—it must be fast-paced, have plenty of action, and feature a dynamic hero with whom the audience can identify.

"Many European films have a slow, meandering style," says writer-director Jesus Salvador Trevino. "But like it or not, Hollywood is setting the pace worldwide. And I would rather be part of that creative momentum than outside of it. I see no need in doing films that are not exciting, merely because Hollywood makes exciting films. Not everything that is done in the Hollywood style has to be superficial."

Trevino grew up in the East Los Angeles *barrio* and has been involved in the Chicano movement since the late '60s. Like Mike Gray, he began his career as a documentary filmmaker (*Yo Soy Chicano, America Tropical*). He is currently making a dramatic series on Latino history for public television.

Trevino says it is important for progressive filmmakers to develop their cre-

Continued next page.



Michael Dobo

**"I'm not ashamed
of being a movie
star anymore,
because I know
how to use it."**

AN INTERVIEW WITH JANE FONDA BY PETER MELNICK

"I don't mean to be rude to your photographer," Jane Fonda says as she invites me into her living room. "I mean, he's welcome to come in and listen... It's just that I don't want any pictures taken of the inside of my home. We have so much trouble with...you know." I nod my head. She nods back.

Her husband, politician Tom Hayden, is off fishing with his father, and should be home soon. I also sit on the floor and ask whether she thinks the film media can be effective political education.

"More and more movies are going to be anti-corporate," Fonda begins, "and I think this is going to surface in action in the '80s. It's just like the cultural subtext that gave rise to the '60s

—Kerouac, the James Dean movies and so forth. Tom, for example, who became a political activist in 1950-60, was extremely influenced by Dean. A lot of people were. You know, they were just pissed off at the establishment. No ideology yet, no alternatives or any kind of sophisticated analysis of what was wrong. Just fuck the system, screw—you know, that kind of thing."

Fonda has recently immersed herself in the making of movies with this anti-corporate theme. Her next film to be released, *The China Syndrome*, is a thriller about a near-meltdown at a nuclear power plant.

"*Syndrome* will be coming out in a climate that is tilting to anti-nuclear, and I think it's going to have a very heavy effect in the context of changing consciousness. But the movie is about more than the nuclear thing. It's the whole 'Corporations put greed ahead of human values and safety' message."

"The people who we've screened the movie for—I mean the secretaries and accountants and people like that—they come out shaken. They come out scared, with a feeling of 'They are putting one over on us that could do us in,' which is the most we could hope for. It means that the next time those people hear about some group that's protesting the nuclear, or about people who are pro-solar, it will act as a reinforcement for them."

Fonda and producer Bruce Gilbert are making three more movies. The first focusing on leukemia victims, and will demonstrate the connection between cancer and industrial negligence and pollution. Another film will be about "just the whole American economy..." here Fonda breaks off from her description to laugh at the enormity of this project—"leading up to the crash of the economy and how it's related to the petrodollar and the Arab countries. Big, big epic movie," she adds, once again very serious. The third, a comedy about secretaries who take over their office, will star the unlikely combination of Fonda, Lily Tomlin and Dolly Parton.

"In all these films we're going to try to do what I think we did in the nuclear film and in *Coming Home*, where it doesn't come across as *A Message*, but rides in on the emotion. I know Godard would... well, these European filmmak-

ers say you shouldn't do a movie that way. But I'm only interested in American audiences. And American audiences have to experience something. You can't make a didactic film in this country."

Fonda talks about Hayden and her father, Henry Fonda. "Even though Dad changed his view on the war, I feel he never really thought I was okay until I married Tom. I think that was the cementing of our new relationship. Dad is intimidated by Tom, but has tremendous respect for him. Dad is—given his age, I mean—a very open person. You know, his roots are lower-middle class Omaha, Nebraska, and although there's been a lot of water under the bridge since then, he likes people who are unpretentious and basic."

The period immediately following her politicization was particularly difficult on her father, Fonda says. "During those years when we were being followed and tracked and monitored and broken into and shot at and all that stuff, my dad and I had some big fights. Real heavy fights politically, where we screamed at each other."

In '68, '69, I really went overnight from being nothing politically to just throwing my whole life into it. I mean, I was a liberal for maybe a couple of weeks. And then I began to feel like this... (her arm gestures roundly, she speaks in an affected, Lady Bountiful voice) "like this charity lady who comes off the mountain, you know, to help the poor, and then goes back up the mountain again. And I just think that, if you really get into the people you're dealing with, and you have respect for them, how do you go back up the mountain and still face them? I couldn't stand what I knew was my reflection in their eyes as one of those ladies."

"There was a time when I was so uncomfortable over the way my friends felt about me being richer and more privileged and more mobile and all that that I thought, 'Well, the only way I can resolve those contradictions is simply to get out of The Business and all the stuff that goes with it.'"

She's found a different resolution, though.

"My value to the movement is to be the best actress, and the biggest star, and to earn as much money as I possibly can and use it for the organization [Campaign for Economic Dem-

ocracy (CED), a grassroots political group that developed out of Hayden's 1976 senatorial campaign]. I can do much more that way than, say, as a CED organizer. It would be different if I'd started when I was 20. But I didn't become a political person until I was 35 years old, and the scars of elitism and individualism are pretty deep by that time."

"I mean, I've gotten over a lot more than most movie stars could. But I find whenever I try to do organizing that the group dynamic becomes weird. A good organizer is someone who brings out the best in people but always stays in the background, and I'm just a movie star in people's eyes. People are drawn to me for very bizarre reasons."

"I'm just very aware of the damage that was done by my upperclass background, damage that I just can't overcome. You know the kinds of foolish mistakes I made when I first became active, when I was shrill and rhetorical and all that, and one day Tom just said, 'Well, it's because of your class.' And he's right. When you come from a privileged class there's this unconscious feeling of 'I can do anything and I won't be destroyed by it.' And other people, they're just more cautious. The whole process is like peeling an onion. You reject one suit, and then there's another layer to peel away. It's a constant process. It'll be that way for the rest of my life."

"I earn \$1 million a film," she says, hastening to add, "I mean, it's just appalling. But then I try to be very upfront about where that money goes. I don't have any problem with putting money into one of Tom's campaigns. The races are getting to be so expensive that unless the left is able to raise millions of dollars—and it can't all be done by marrying movie stars, obviously—we won't get anywhere."

"I mean, we're absolutely serious about this. You have to get to where the power is. You have to take over. You have to enter the political arena, and that means vast amounts of money. So basically, the way I'm used is as a resource person, a public speaker and a fundraiser. I'm real good at doing that. And I'm better at doing it if I've been nominated for an Academy Award, or if I have a popular movie that's playing around the corner. So I'm not ashamed of being a movie star anymore, because I know how I use it."

Continued from previous page.

ative skills so they can reach a wide audience. "I owe it to myself as an artist to do this," he says, "because otherwise I'm going to wind up as a propagandist. And I've done enough of that."

Actress Jane Fonda agrees. For progressive filmmakers to function effectively, she says, they must learn how to construct emotionally powerful movies with democratic messages.

We do not live in a politically sophisticated country, Fonda observes. So perhaps the best thing that movies can do now, she says, is still people's emotions—anger them, fill them with sorrow, inspire them. "I don't believe that culture at this stage is going to be able to go too far ahead." Movies are primarily a visceral medium, Fonda believes. And there is only so much enlightenment which can be induced in an audience through visceral means.

How should the entertainment industry address its audience? It is a question that deeply concerns Hollywood leftists. Some conscientious TV writers, says Lynn Phillips, try to "treat an audience as if it's the same as them. They feel that if they approach their work this way, they won't be guilty of condescension."

But Phillips believes there are undeniable differences between her and the television audience. "Most of the audience has not gone to college, and a lot of them have not completed high school. They spend their time differently, they watch TV differently, too."

"Parts of the audience are very different from me, but I'm no better. And when it comes to writing a TV script, there are some things others want to see in it. And you try your best to satisfy everyone. It's the art of cooking for a large

family rather than for a lone gourmet."

Some young Hollywood leftists have already reached lofty positions in the entertainment industry. The higher these people rise within Hollywood's hierarchy, the tougher it becomes to maintain their principles. Thom Mount is a former student activist from North Carolina, who once fought to help southern workers win the right of union representation. He now works as a top-ranking executive at Universal Studios. Mount insists that he does

studio a generous array of services.)

Mount feels that if popular culture is to be managed by a corporate elite, it is a good thing there are some people with his social outlook among that elite. He has, after all, supervised the production of some of Hollywood's more progressive features in recent years—including *Bingo Long, Which Way Is Up?* and *Blue Collar*.

Other young leftists, such as film technician Bruce Green, have consciously rejected the idea of climbing into Holly-

Some decide not to climb up Hollywood's ladder to success; some just don't get the chance.

not regularly have to violate his beliefs. But he has experienced a few difficult moments at Universal—when his social conscience and his corporate responsibilities have conflicted.

Mount's first assignment as a Universal executive was to cut *Bingo Long's* budget by approximately \$500,000. One of the ways he did this was by moving the production to the South, near Macon, Ga., where there were plenty of extras who did not have to be paid union scale.

"The film was originally going to be shot in California, inside the Screen Extras Guild jurisdiction," says Mount. "And we were going to have to pay about \$50 a day plus fringes for extras. So I moved it to Macon, where we paid \$20 a day and found all the extras we needed." (Mount also picked the Georgia locale because it resembled 1930s America and because the state's film board offered the

wood's higher echelons. Soon after graduating from film school in 1973, Green started an optical effects business with a former classmate. The business was a success, but Green decided to give it up. "I realized that if I stayed with it," he says, "the best I could hope to become was a very successful owner of an optical effects company—which meant that I'd be an employer, a member of management. I'd become everything which I resented."

Green has worked on a variety of films, including *Cannonball* (a low-budget feature starring David Carradine), *Star Wars*, and an upcoming TV movie about Dwight Eisenhower. His work pays well and is sometimes exciting. But on the whole, Green sees Hollywood movie-making merely as a job. "Filmmaking is a way to make a wage and occasionally express something you believe in. It is not the be-all and end-all of life... It's just

not worth destroying yourself for. I want to work in the movie industry, but I also want to spend time with my family and friends, to do non-film activities, and have an existence outside of the industry."

Not all leftists who come to Hollywood in search of a career get into a position where they can do satisfying work. The vast majority of those who work in the entertainment industry have little control over film and TV production. Young leftists fortunate enough to break into Hollywood's creative and managerial elite are subject to a variety of pressures and enticements. In their rush to succeed, they sometimes forget what they originally wanted to accomplish in Hollywood.

Nevertheless, says Hollywood's new left, socially concerned people should not abandon the entertainment industry. "It's important not to completely ignore mass culture," says Thom Mount.

"I think most of my former colleagues on the left chose more narrowly-focused and traditional left things to do with the rest of their lives. And those things are very important."

"At the same time, if you give up the film business or the record business or the newspaper business, or the television business—or any other form of mass communication—to people who have absolutely no tendency to think humanely or act compassionately, then you sacrifice the possibility of keeping the flame alive."

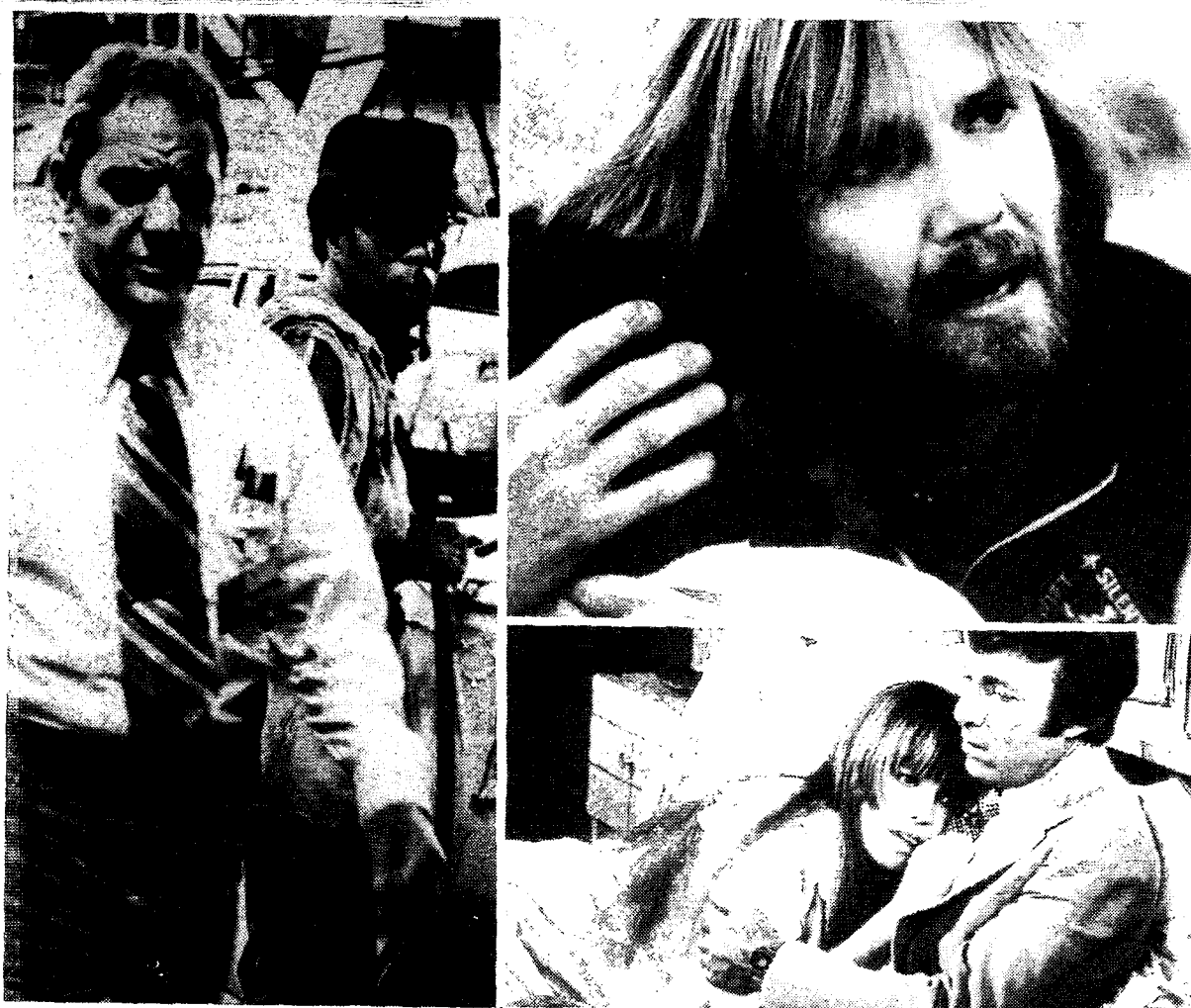
David Talbot worked 1974-78 as a journalist and political organizer in Hollywood. This article is based on Creative Differences, his new book about social commitment in Hollywood, co-authored with Barbara Zheutlin. The book is available from South End Press, Box 68, Astor Station, Boston, Mass. 02123.



THE OLD LEFT ON TRIAL

Craning for a view at a Washington hearing, Danny Kaye, June Havoc, Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall represented a group that charged HUAC with violating civil rights.

THE NEW LEFT ON FILM



EDITORIAL

The less things change, the less they stay the same

With this edition *IN THESE TIMES* enters its third year. We launched the paper upon certain premises:

- that American socialists must adapt their thinking and practice to the historical experience of their people;

- that the changing conditions of American and world capitalism have made the issue of democracy vs. corporate power compelling to more and more Americans, as the corporate-liberal consensus breaks down and realignments are beginning to reshape party politics;

- that only a powerful movement for socialist democracy in the mainstream of American politics could join the issue and guarantee a political realignment favorable to democracy;

- that growing segments of labor, black, women's and other popular movements are coming to understand the necessary connection between socialism and the cause of democracy;

- and that the time is now for explicit socialist politics to enter the electoral arena and reshape the American political universe.

Two years and another election later, the deepening malaise in party politics, labor's widening breach with the Democratic Party as now constituted, and a receptivity to socialist ideas, organizations, and publications among labor rank-and-file and leaders that would have been inconceivable only three years ago, tends to confirm the soundness of our outlook.

Our first editorial, written in light of the 1976 presidential election, stands up well against events since then, including the election just over. In part it said:

The new element in this election is that more and more people find these differences [between the two major parties] inadequate to meet the problems facing our society. Voters and non-voters alike know, or sense, that the limits to public discourse set by the major parties prevent shedding old alternatives and defining new ones.

To more and more people it is clear that the political system is at an impasse. It presents us all with little more than dilemmas: choices between equally obnoxious or no longer credible alternatives.

The polls show that people want peace without unemployment, economic insecurity and lost opportunities. They want progressive development, a healthy economy, without war. They want stable prices and full employment, not one at the expense of the other. They want good education and health care, adequate housing and livable communities, honorable work and dignified leisure, without crushing taxes and bankrupt cities. They want a compassionate society without paternalism and dependence.

...And increasingly they know, or sense, that the system of economics in this country is unable to deliver the standard of living and quality of life they want, and that the system of politics is unwilling to make it do so.

Capitalism is the unspoken reality of American politics. That is the one thing the major parties agree upon: praise capitalism (not too often and preferably by another name) but don't discuss it. Preclude serious discussion of the central reality of our times.

This is to be expected. The major parties are the protection agencies of corporate capitalism. They are committed in bipartisan consensus to accommodat-

ing government policy and public expectations to the capacities and limits of the system. It is their job to keep corporate-capitalism out of, "above," politics, just as it was the job of the pre-Civil War Whig and Democratic parties to keep slavery out of politics....

It remains to be seen whether the Democratic and Republican parties will succeed in keeping corporate power out of electoral politics. If they do they will only be doing their job, and socialists will not be doing theirs.

That job is to bring capitalism into politics as the great issue of our time. This newspaper is committed to beginning the job and to seeing it through. It is a job whose time has come.

...We intend to speak to corporate capitalism as the great issue of our time, and to socialism as the popular movement that will meet it. (*ITT*, Nov. 15, 1976.)

A year later in our first anniversary editorial, we elaborated upon these views in the light of further experience:

...American corporate capitalism has reached a point in its development where its power and its profitability must rely increasingly upon a centralized statist authority. The political system of American capitalism must more and more restrict liberty, disown equality, and abolish the last remnants of popular sovereignty.

In recognition of this historical development, we emphasize the urgency of building a socialist movement to preserve and extend democracy....

...This means a socialism opposed to the statism of corporate-capitalism and committed to self-government of the people as citizens, as workers, and as freely associating members of social, political, religious, and civic organizations. It means a socialism for which this general outlook is not simply a strategy but a matter of basic principle applicable both to the socialist movement in its development and to a future socialist society.

...We therefore favor socialists entering the electoral arena and working to expand popular participation in that arena, both because electoral politics is an essential dimension of working class struggle against corporate power, and because it is the effective way of building into the socialist political movement democratic norms of behavior rooted in popular sovereignty. It is also the way to build the people's moral, political, and organizational strength against corporate-capitalism's ideological blandishments, political usurpations, and possible resort by it to military force.

In the past several years the organized labor movement has begun to go beyond narrow collective bargaining politics to a struggle over the control of the investment system as the condition for protecting its members' immediate interests. In so doing it needs and is seeking allies to the left. Similarly, blacks, women, hispanics, consumer-protection, environmental, energy, and community organizations have moved increasingly into conflict with the corporate investment system in the pursuit of their respective goals. However timid the tendency still is, it is there and it is persistent. It represents the potential of these movements' convergence upon a challenge to corporate power.

These diverse movements in conflict



"The Rising of the Usurpers and the Sinking of the Liberties of the People"—A protest by Thomas Nast in 1889 against the control exercised over the "necessaries of life" by the trusts.

with corporate power display the incipient development of a politics tending toward democratic socialism. By their very nature they must assert legislative programs against a party politics that sends their enemies to the legislatures. Movements oriented to legislative programs in working people's interests may formulate social goals opposed to the system of investment for profit and around which to organize and agitate.

But this means that the various movements must mobilize their energies and resources to elect new types of representatives to city councils, state legislatures, and Congress—representatives from the ranks of labor, women, blacks, and others who will champion the people's interests and popular sovereignty against corporate power....

...These movements may be expected to force a basic realignment in American party politics before they converge in a new major party oriented toward a socialist democracy. We anticipate this process occurring in the near future, particularly if socialists do their part and put aside preconceptions borrowed from past times and other lands and adapt themselves to the American scene. (*ITT*, Nov. 16, 1977.)

There is the saying that the more things change the more they stay the same. At first sight paradoxical, it is really a common sense thought: To keep our health through life we have to change our ways with age, always adapting to new conditions. To keep our intelligence we must never stop learning and changing our minds.

To preserve democracy and a system of government of, by, and for the people, we have to change our social, economic and political relations. Otherwise, we will not simply stand still but decay and go backward to reactionary ways—as is happening now with the revival of the laissez-

faire right and the growing conservatism of liberal politicians.

It may be more apt to remind ourselves that the less things change the less they will remain the same. The less we change our system of economics and party politics, the less democracy we will have and the less the U.S. will resemble a society moving toward fulfillment of the "American Dream"—a society practicing self-government with liberty and equality for all.

And the less we socialists change our minds in adaptation to our people's experiences and history, the less we shed the strait-jacket of sterile dogma, the less we bring socialism out of the privacy of our small groups into the mainstream of American electoral politics, the less will be our role in shaping American society—and the less American politics will offer people a choice between democracy and the oligarchic corporate-state now riding herd on the nation.

There is another saying: Those who don't learn from the past are doomed to repeat it. As that implies, learning from history means coming to know how to change it for the better, else submitting to the vengeance of the past. The absence of a dynamic socialist movement in the mainstream of American politics is indeed submitting the U.S. to the past with a vengeance—the past of the corporate robber barons, "free market" quackery, deepening inequality, and a decay of democracy that characterized the America of McKinley, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge.

Two hundred years ago Americans were in the midst of a fight for independence and self-government against British imperial rule. Today the contest is for independence and self-government against the modern imperium of corporate power. In all candor we must admit that we socialists have not yet begun to fight. It's time for a change.

LETTERS

AUSTRALIA

AS AN AUSTRALIAN CURRENTLY RESIDING in America for a year, I enjoyed William Appleman Williams comments about our society in his initial article of the series "The best and worst of imperialism" (*ITT*, Oct. 25). However, I feel constrained to point out that *Walkabout* was not an Australian film. While set in Australia, it was financed, produced and distributed by our imperial mother, England.

We now have a vigorous film-making industry and are reasserting a capacity to produce quality products that was destroyed by Hollywood's incursions in the late 1930s. Films like *Newsfront*, which might appear strange to an American audience, seek to establish national identity in a way which is neither vulgar nor overly chauvinistic. Moreover, I should add that even though *Walkabout's* appeal to the values and earth-centered modes of a "primitive" lifestyle was welcome, it relied too strongly on an image of "the noble savage" which could only reinforce patronizing attitudes about our Aboriginal people.

Elsewhere Williams referred to Bob Hawke (the president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions) as "the only charismatic figure wandering the desert of the Australian left." It needs to be stressed that Hawke can no longer be regarded as a left-winger. While he was once a hero of mine (his bravado and cynical wit destroyed many over-confident and simple-minded current affairs interviewers), his stand in favor of the production and export of uranium combined with his current conciliatory attitude to business have destroyed his credibility as a left spokesperson.

—Anthony Asholt
Berkeley, Calif.

ACTIVISTS AND BROWN

LARRY REMER'S ARTICLE ABOUT Jerry Brown's gubernatorial campaign (*ITT*, Oct. 25) sounds as if it were written from somewhere in Timbuktu. *ITT* readers got a highly distorted view of California politics.

The "bulk of activist forces" did not support Brown's bid for re-election. Activism in California, Remer should understand, is not confined to the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED). The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) leveled a broadside at Brown asking Democrats not to vote for him. The Campaign Against Utility Service Exploitation (CAUSE) is staying neutral while blasting Brown for his support of LNG and his father's Indonesian connection. No socialist group actively supported Brown.

As for Brown's nuclear position and the Hayden notion that he "represents an alternative energy path," some history: The nuclear industry has worked through the Republican Party; the natural gas industry through the Democratic Party. This simple reality explains why Brown told environmentalists in California that if they wanted his anti-nuke position, they had to give him LNG (liquid natural gas). Some trade-off!

Actions speak louder than words and Brown's actions on alternative energy have been limited to posturing and the manipulation of symbols. With the money to be spent on LNG, California could develop a solar industry that would unplug people from the gas utilities. But that would hurt Brown's father's Indonesian connections and cut off funds for Brown's coming presidential bid. Actually, Brown is doing more to hinder

the development of solar in California than to help it. Brown did not "stand firmly" against the death penalty in California when it came to the vote over-riding his veto.

Recently, Brown signed legislation that would permit telephone companies to charge for information calls despite a flood of letters from consumers and senior citizen groups asking him to veto the bill. California is the only state successfully to stop the phone companies because of consumer pressure. With a stroke of the pen, Brown betrayed all their hard-won victories.

Jerry Brown is one of the biggest phonies ever to arrive on the political scene. His re-election was a foregone conclusion. His opponent, Evelle Younger, was probably one of the biggest turkeys ever to arrive on the political scene. Remer likened Younger to Nixon, but Jerry Brown is more like Nixon psychologically.

As for California activism, it's going to be "open season" on Jerry Brown now.

—Burt Wilson
Co-ordinator, Campaign Against
Utility Service Exploitation (CAUSE)
Los Angeles

KEEP IT UP

ALL THE BEST OF LUCK FOR A THIRD year even better than the first two. I depend on *IN THESE TIMES* far more than any other publication I read.

Keep it up!

—Bill Camarda
Mt. Sinai, N.Y.

MOST HOPEFUL

THE ENCLOSED IS FOR TWO SUBSCRIPTIONS for two of my friends. This year I am providing these two subs rather than send you anniversary greetings on your second birthday, since I can't do both.

I do want you to know, however, that I view *ITT* as one of the most hopeful developments of this decade, and an essential element in the development of a

large, popular democratic socialist movement in the U.S.

Best wishes for your third year and for many years thereafter.

—Albert Silverman
Jenkintown, Pa.

PROGRESSIVE RELIGION

WE WERE GLAD TO READ BOTH your editor's note in response to a letter (*ITT*, Oct. 4) and Lester Rodney's letter (*ITT*, Oct. 25) about progressive people in the religious community.

We would like to underscore Rodney's point that members of the religious community are indeed seriously addressing basic issues relating to social and economic justice and are actively organizing and educating in their churches and synagogues to effect much needed change.

We have 44 chapters and affiliates throughout the country organizing locally around such issues as nuclear armament and the problems of nuclear energy, waste and disposal. Our members are actively working to stop bank loans to South Africa; prevent infant formula abuse in Third World countries; educate their communities about human rights violations in repressive regimes such as Iran, Thailand, South Korea and Nicaragua. We began over a decade ago as Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. And we're still concerned about Vietnam and the need for reconstruction aid to "heal the wounds of war."

Speaking of change, we've changed too. Recognizing the exclusive nature of our name, we became Clergy and Laity Concerned.

—Shermane A. Austin
Clergy and Laity Concerned
New York

Editor's note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we must make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double-space letter, or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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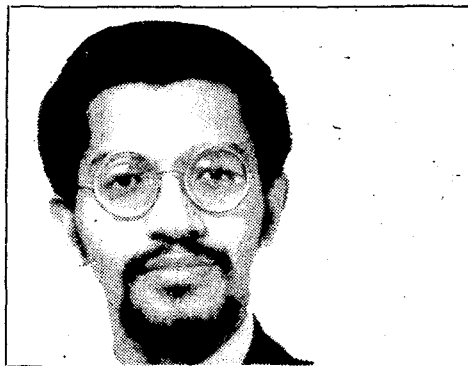
MANNING MARABLE

FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Roosevelt's "Second Bill of Rights" still far from fulfillment

THE CENTRAL TRAGEDY IN American life is that the promise of real human equality, as expressed partially in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and Emancipation Proclamation, has never been realized. Behind the rhetoric of human freedom and outstanding scientific achievements, one is constantly struck by the continuity of economic depravity, sickness and unemployment so prevalent throughout minority communities. Almost one-quarter century ago President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized this basic failure of American democracy, and commented on even the New Deal's inability to find a solution to the ever-deepening crisis.

In his 1944 State of the Union Message, Roosevelt admitted that despite 12 years of liberal programs and remedies, the problems generated by inequality of economic opportunity had not been solved. "As our nation has grown in size and stature and as our industrial economy



expanded, he explained, America's political system has proved itself "inadequate to assure us equality." Democracy depended upon "economic security and independence" for every strata of the nation's society. Human beings must have more than equality of opportunity to compete for jobs and an education—these rights should be guaranteed by the federal government.

Roosevelt proposed in his speech a new social contract, "a Second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race, or creed."

Roosevelt pointed to eight specific economically-related rights that all Americans ought to have:

- The right to a useful and remunerative job;
- The right to earn enough to provide adequate food, clothing and recreation;
- The right of every farmer to raise and sell his own products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;
- The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;
- The right of every family to a decent home;
- The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;
- The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age;
- The right to a good education.

To Roosevelt, these eight critical objectives for development "spelled security" and "human happiness." After his administration, the Democratic Party was successful in dominating both Houses of Congress. At times the Democratic Party enjoyed a two-thirds majority; the federal bureaucracy and most state legislatures became controlled by Democrats. How far are we toward realizing the "second Bill of Rights" Roosevelt proposed as being essential for democracy to survive?

In short, pitifully few of these aims have been achieved. The "right to a useful and remunerative job," the key principle behind the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, has been lost. Secretary of the Treasury Blumenthal has told me personally that he opposes an unemployment rate below 5 percent—which translates into an unemployment rate for black males at 10 percent and above. The Carter administration has no plans whatsoever toward creating public service jobs essential in generating work for minority communities.

The "right to food and clothing" has

not been realized in the ghetto or Appalachia; farmers went on strike last year because huge corporations have put them out of business. Small businessmen in the black community have little chance of surviving beyond the first two years of operation. "Redlining" and racist policies by banks limit the availability of credit essential in establishing any viable economic entity.

The vast majority of Americans cannot afford to purchase a new home, now priced on average at over \$60,000. About 70 percent of all black families either rent apartments or houses, and have little opportunity to purchase quality housing. The "right to adequate medical care," either the Kennedy-Corman or Dellums' healthcare proposals, have few supporters in Congress. The typical black man is dead by age 60; most black children never see a dentist and have no family doctor.

Black schools and universities have increased federal support, better libraries and educational facilities. Yet the recent Alan Bakke decision, the specter of Proposition 13 in California and racist political attacks against black institutions have amounted to a genuine assault against affirmative action and the future of "educational opportunity."

The challenge of America in the 1980s will be along these issues: will we achieve a greater chance for human equality and economic democracy, or will we retreat into the inequalities of the past?

Roosevelt had some of the solutions, but never quite grasped the problem: the reason for the lack of economic equality stems directly from the nature of our economic system itself. Unless a new movement, as broadly-based and as dedicated as the Civil Rights Movement, begins to challenge the corporations' control over all society, we cannot achieve lasting human equality.

Manning Marable is chairperson of the department of political science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.

WILLIAM GOLDSMITH

Giant corporations breed bureaucracy and big government

THE STRONG TREND IN AMERICAN POLITICS AGAINST government spending, while highlighting an obstacle to the growth of the socialist movement, may in the end advertise a basic flaw of capitalism. The obstacle is people's legitimate fear of giant bureaucracy, particularly in government, and their association of bureaucracy with socialism. The flaw may appear as it becomes obvious that corporations support the maintenance of government bureaucracy. Popular fear of socialist development has centered on the concentration of power and influence within government, its dominance and control over important social activities, and consequent limitations on individual choice. As a foil to this fear, our myths associate the development of the private sector, guided supposedly by Adam Smith's invisible hand, with individualism, economic freedom, efficiency, creativity and growth. The ultimate effect of the current "taxpayers' revolt" may be a breakdown of this false contrast between giant, slovenly, and monolithic government and small, active and competitive private business.

Anti-bureaucratic sentiment that recognizes the continuing concentration and consolidation of power in the major corporations is already spreading. That the corporate conglomerate movement necessarily entails centralization and expansion of government spending and control has received less recognition.

Evidence of tight concentration, growth and stability of corporate ownership is abundant. So is news of interlocking directorates, trust department control over rapidly growing institutional sharehold-

ings, and business domination of the government.

Forbes magazine, which calls itself "The Capitalist Tool," compiled data (September 1977) on the top 100 industrial corporations for each decade since 1917. The listing—a weak measure—shows an enormous concentration of great economic power, even though banks with widespread tentacles of control, such as Chase, Citibank and Morgan Guaranty, are excluded.

The Forbes list shows frightening concentration and stability at really top levels. In 1977, the ten largest corporations held more than one-third of the assets of the top 100. Corporations that have been on the list since 1917 held nearly two-thirds of these assets. Almost five-sixths—about half a trillion dollars—is held by firms that have been in the top 100 since at least World War II.

This stability holds through 60 years of war, depression and vast technologi-

cal expansion. As the diagram shows, old money is the biggest money, and it is getting bigger all the time.

How this corporate concentration leads to government bureaucracy gorging itself on our taxes is a complex story, but its outlines are simple.

First, corporations grow as part of a competitive process in which losers drop out and winners become more and more powerful. Of course there are times when former winners drop out, but at the top this is infrequent.

Take the case of ARCO. In 1917, with assets of \$61 million, it ranked 87th. By 1977, after it had absorbed at least six other giant firms, its assets were nearly \$9 billion, and it ranked 15th. By no means was all of this growth due to inflation. From 1966 to 1977, for example, when GNP inflated by 84 percent, the assets of the top 100 firms grew by 166 percent, twice as fast.

Second, as the corporations grow, their need for capital grows at least in proportion. Giant firms become top heavy, their executive salaries grow enormous, their prices are not competitive, and they require truly gigantic capital investments. Many rely heavily on the government, through military contracts, to provide them with the necessary capital.

Beyond military spending, the government is more generally tied into corporate growth and concentration. Because

of its dependence on tax revenues and therefore on the productivity of corporations (which produce taxable goods and incomes), government must support the more successful corporations. It facilitates capital accumulation in the dominant firms—by international protection, tax incentives, business contracts, outright subsidies, reduction or elimination of risk, general public investment, or business-oriented services.

Government must also grow because as corporate accumulation requires high profits at levels of performance far below full employment, current social problems are intensified. The government must not only support the accumulation process by actively supporting business, but it must also act to mitigate the impact of inequality arising from unemployment, monopoly pricing and severe payroll inequities. It must act upon side effects of corporate growth, such as pollution, and it must further act to control ensuing unrest and dissent.

Government picks up the tab for the unemployment, poverty, occupational disease, environmental decay and ill health the corporate economy produces. Under the present state of affairs, as the corporations grow, so must the government. ■

William W. Goldsmith is associate professor of city and regional planning at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

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PERSPECTIVES

Professional unions: Class struggle comes to higher education

LAST MARCH 18, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND PROFESSIONAL staff of colleges and universities on Long Island gathered at SUNY Farmingdale to consider "Unionization and Higher Education on Long Island." This conference, sponsored by the Collective Bargaining Coalition of Long Island Colleges and Universities, marked the completion of a three-year effort. Beginning as a regional caucus within the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT), AFT, AFL-CIO, the representatives of these unions felt that teachers in higher education had distinctive needs and problems, rooted in the specific traditions of "the Academy," that were being addressed inadequately by the state teacher-union movement.

NYSUT seemed deaf to our concerns as faculty in higher education, because its base has long resided in elementary and secondary schools, and because its strategic guidelines were drawn from the industrial trade-union movement.

The issues that specifically concerned us might be labeled "professionalism"—the traditional role of college faculty in academic governance, selection of "professional" personnel and development of academic programs.

We were unionizing, at least in part, to strengthen our hand in the struggle for our version of "worker self-management" but NYSUT leaders were advising us that we were "simply" employees, and that we should leave policy matters and personnel selection and evaluation to Management.

We were, of course, concerned about "money issues" and job security, but we had not unionized to give up our decision-making role as academic professionals. Increasingly, we were forced, by management and the unions, to struggle with this "conflict" between traditional "collegiality" and "industrial trade-unionism."

Public and private colleges.

As we began to meet regularly to discuss our common problems it became obvious that many problems were shared by our unionized colleagues on Long Island, including those affiliated with the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). So we opened our meetings to representatives of all higher education unions.

At our monthly meetings we exchanged contracts, shared experiences, discussed negotiating strategies, and explored ways of dealing with our respective administrations. At first we were surprised by the similarity of problems we faced, and we began more clearly to see their regional, and even national, scope.

It became evident that these regional concerns were conditioned by political decisions made in Albany and Washington, as well as by investment decisions made in the so-called "private sector." We also saw that to have any significant impact on policy formation at these levels we would have to overcome such pitfalls as: the conflict between "public" and "private" colleges; the differences between two-year, four-year, and graduate institutions; and the political struggles among such national teacher organizations as the AFT, AAUP, and National Education Association.

We realized that the division between "public" and "private" institutions was largely an arbitrary "legal fiction," the main consequences of which was to pit teachers against one another in the struggle for public funds. As we noted in our

founding statement, "The older distinction between 'public' and 'private' institutions has blurred—all institutions are recipients of public monies, all are carrying out public functions, all must be answerable to public needs, albeit in diverse ways."

There is, of course, a hidden class issue here. It relates to the different constituencies served by the "public" and "private" institutions and to the quality and nature of the education they make available.

We realized that we had to have an organization that could demand that it be heard as the legitimate representative of all higher education "professionals" on Long Island. But could what unites us take precedence over what has divided us? We had to explore our differences at length.

We began to develop procedures for mutual aid during contract negotiations and strikes. During strike preparations at Nassau Community College representatives of "private" institutions, Adelphi and C.W. Post, spoke at a rally and related their strike experience. The Coalition had marshalled support for the striking faculties at Dowling and C.W. Post, each out for more than 20 days in September 1977.

These experiences deepened the commitment of the respective unions to the Coalition. With the relatively successful completion of those strikes we turned toward the Coalition. The conference at Farmingdale was the result.

Larger meaning.

In this process we have come to see a larger political significance in our efforts. We are struggling over the role of education in our society, the place of teacher-workers in their institutions, and the general direction of the American trade union movement.

Teachers in higher education have been raised on the ethic of "professionalism." Historically, they have tended to oppose unionization as "unprofessional," as a leveling approach contrary to their commitment to self-governing meritocracy dedicated to academic quality. They have often been challenged by union people as snobbish and elitist, unable to realize that teachers are also workers, that real control has always remained in the hands of administrations and governing boards (invariably composed of members of the business establishment), and that "professionalism" has played into the hands of their employers by getting teachers to do the dirty work of evaluating and firing their colleagues.

On the campus, professionalism has divided professors among themselves, and cut them off from the staff and maintenance workers. Off campus, it has tended to isolate the "professoriate" from its potential allies in the elementary and secondary schools, as well as from the wider working-class movement.

The traditional union alternative to collegial professionalism has emphasized worker solidarity, job protection, and improved salaries and fringe benefits, based on schedules that pay little attention to merit—verbiage aside—and that treat workers alike in accordance with the time-honored principle of seniority.

The union response to academic self-governance has tended to be: the administration is management, we are employees, and we should not muddy the waters. Let the managers manage, make the decisions as to hiring, firing and promoting, as well as to "designing the product," i.e., courses and academic programs. As employees we must simply ensure that we have a strong contract with good safeguards against arbitrary action backed up with an effective grievance procedure.

False dichotomy.

What does this dichotomy come down to in the end? Professors are given the choice between "self-governance" in an advisory role without binding legal power, or "industrial trade unionism," in which faculty give up all claim to self-management in return for the right to bargain on "wages, hours, and terms and conditions of employment."

We see the collective bargaining process as an opportunity to move toward worker self-management, thus offering to the trade union movement a vision of its own future. We do not intend to leave the initiative to management; we do not accept their claim that they are the university; we will not allow them, in the name of "management prerogatives," sole power to determine the structure of work, and the direction of expansion and contraction of the institution.

The general failure of American trade unions to challenge management in this way has allowed employers to gain a strategic public relations initiative by being able to present themselves as the providers of service, while depicting us as seeking only to work less, be paid more, and be guaranteed lifetime job security—without concern for the students.

The "corporatization of the academy," linked as it is to the slowdown of the American economy, seems to have as its aim the complete integration of higher education

into "one dimensional" American capitalism. We are increasingly having to deal with business attempts to develop a highly stratified educational system; a higher educational tracking that will prepare the work force for its role in an ever more class and job stratified social order.

Battle for control.

The growing thrust of managers, corporate spokespeople, and public officials is thus to push for "job development." Vocational courses of study are always presented as if they were in the students' interest, intended to give them the skills they need to prepare for the future. Hence the pressure grows to turn many "lower level" colleges into publicly-supported work training schools for the corporations, while seeking, at the same time, greatly to limit overall access to higher education.

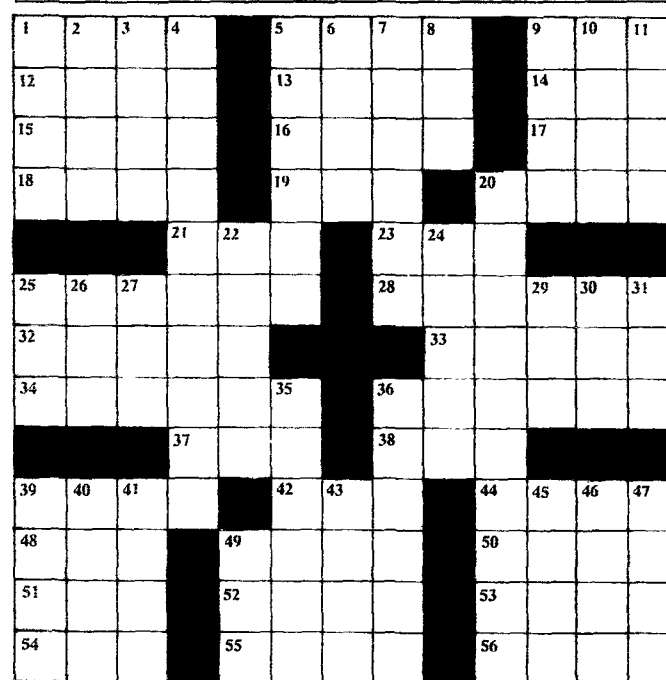
The point here concerns the growing fear on the part of corporate interests that there are insufficient jobs, and that, given the general process of "deskilling" that Harry Braverman described in *Labor and Monopoly Capitalism*, the "establishment" is concerned that workers are becoming overeducated. And overeducated workers are more easily dissatisfied and prone to rebellion.

We have responded to these developments by insisting that "faculties have the primary responsibility for the development and implementation of educational policy," and that "efforts to remove control over matters like curriculum and the hiring of faculty from those who teach and study is destructive to the necessary process of self-governance." "Representatives of faculty, students, and staff," we argue, "must come together with community representatives to discuss and develop plans for regional development. The Master Plans now mandated by the State Department of Education (where long-term policy is developed), must have the full advice and consent of the concerned faculty as well as of the other concerned constituencies."

David A. Sprintzen teaches philosophy at C.W. Post Center, LIU, and is a founding member of the Collective Bargaining Coalition of Long Island Colleges and Universities.

Seat of Power

By Jay Shepherd



- 6 Melville novel
- 7 Instant
- 8 Chinese pagoda
- 9 Silent film star: Theda _____
- 10 Seaweed
- 11 Jerk
- 20 Doctrinaire
- 22 Edison museum: _____ Park
- 24 Gallery need
- 25 Kind of nose (abbr.)
- 26 Commotion
- 27 Kennedy (fam.)
- 29 _____ Harry: Satan
- 30 Crony (old Eng.)
- 31 Gielgud or Eden
- 35 Presbyters
- 36 Fight
- 39 At a _____: perplexed
- 40 Part of the eye
- 41 Nat _____ Cole
- 43 Algerian seaport
- 45 Dry (comb. form)
- 46 Dorsal bones
- 47 Actor Alda
- 49 Author of "The Raven"

ACROSS

- 1 Rowing team
- 5 Greatest degree
- 9 Baffin or Hudson
- 12 Author Philip _____
- 13 Swedish city
- 14 Turkish title
- 15 Word with bus and graph
- 16 Portuguese cape
- 17 Scurried
- 18 Organic soil
- 19 To low
- 20 Central or Hyde
- 21 Relative of rhea
- 23 Born
- 25 In a measure
- 28 Ornamental borders
- 32 "_____ a Grecian Urn"
- 33 Pheasant ragout
- 34 Standard of measure
- 36 Drinking spree
- 37 Word with ace or vent
- 38 River island
- 39 New Testament book
- 42 Speck
- 44 Mistletoe genus
- 48 Egg (comb. form)
- 49 Saucy
- 50 Prison room
- 51 Oriental coin
- 52 The O of Tulsa's ORU
- 53 Melody
- 54 Hang loosely
- 55 Hireling
- 56 Lend

DOWN

- 1 Harvest
- 2 Eternal City

Answer to last week's puzzle:



Tax revolt

Continued from page 2.

What looked in mid-October as a Prop. 13-like consensus victory for the tax revolt became on Nov. 7 a battle that was fought largely on class and income lines, with small town residents and the higher-income white and white-collar workers holding the temporary balance of power.

Tears on My Pillow.

The real losers in the election were the Tisch forces. Of course, the real estate developers will make out. Lansing apartment building owner Tony Shano told me that if Tisch lost, he would raise his rents. But others, like Tisch, Mason small businessman Bob Peterson, or Big Rapids plumber Jim Obert, who were fighting half for dreams and half for a cut in their own taxes, really have nowhere to go.

"Oh, we'll be back stronger in two years," Jim Obert assured me at their election party. But the band on stage was playing "Tears on My Pillow."

At the Headlee election party at Farrell's Ice Cream Parlor in posh Southfield, Headlee intimated, as he had throughout the campaign, that Michigan was just a beginning. While unlike Tisch, he was a winner, the narrow early morning victory was, however, hardly a mandate for a national campaign.

In Michigan, the initiative will have few immediate effects. Gov. William Milliken is setting up a 17-person advisory commission to make recommendations, which will include such opponents of the measure as MEA president Keith Geiger. Geiger told me that if anyone starts urging spending cuts, he would "push for cutting off any subsidies to insurance companies."

The long-run test for the initiative will come when Detroit has to put its prospective bonds to a vote next year and when the expected recession descends on Michigan and shrinks state income. Jack Russell, aide to Detroit councilman Ken Cockrel, was surprisingly cheerful about the requirement that bonds be voted on. "In principle, it's a good thing that it happens," Russell said.

But New Detroit officials were less sanguine. "Let's say we want to rebuild a fire station," one official said. "People are going to say it is not in my neighborhood. You are going to be under political pressure to spread your expenditures to buy votes." He saw a particular problem in getting older whites to support expenditures in the black community.

Both Russell and the New Detroit people were fearful about the legislature's response to a recession. With two-thirds majority needed, conservative legislators from outside Detroit could block needed funds for inner-city unemployed. "That's the point that blacks, minorities, and other disadvantaged people are going to get screwed," one New Detroit official commented.

Whether this happens, however, will depend on whether the same forces that opposed Headlee and Tisch can create a political movement to counter not simply their invidious proposals, but the outlook that lurks behind them and that would lead an "outstate" legislator, as they are called, to say, "be damned," to Detroit's blacks.

While it is clear that neither Tisch nor Headlee won any mandate on Nov. 7, it is also clear that their opponents didn't win anything either, except some time to regroup and to formulate popular alternatives of their own.

Iran's ills

Continued from page 10.

the shah's gigantic military budget, which serves chiefly to facilitate oppression inside Iran, not defend it from foreign enemies. The group also wants a more balanced foreign policy in which Iran will act more in its own interests and less as a Mideastern deputy of the Pentagon.

The shah's religious opponents have been equally misrepresented. Dismissing them as Islamic reactionaries is like accusing Catholic reformers in Latin America of wanting to bring back the Inquisition. Iran's religious authorities support the National Front's demands for constitutionalism and a neutralist foreign policy. They also want to establish Islamic social justice: Outside observers frequently forget that, like Christianity, Islam has a strong strain of social egalitarianism. By ruling through a small, rich and largely corrupt elite, the shah has offended the belief in fundamental human equality that many Moslems share. Far from wanting to return Iran to the Middle Ages, many of the shah's religious opponents want to use the tools of modernity to realize their philosophic ideals, which include distributing Iran's oil wealth more equitably, eliminating mass poverty and taking action against corruption among the ruling elite.

The reason opposition to the shah is centered in the mosques is that with all secular means of opposition rigidly sup-

pressed, the mosques have been the only non-government forums allowed to function in the country.

While the opposition leaders predominantly come from the clergy and the intelligentsia, the millions of Iranians who have demonstrated against the shah come from three major groups—the salaried middle classes, especially teachers, engineers and white-collar employees and university students; the commercial middle class, particularly shopkeepers, small merchants and self-employed craftsmen; and the urban working class.

United by the opposition's rallying cry—"End the Dictatorship"—these three groups each have special social and economic grievances that the shah has ignored. Over the last five years, the salaried middle classes have been hit by a 200 percent rise in food prices, while rents have tripled. Shopkeepers have been burdened with price controls and been used as a scapegoat for government incompetence, especially the failure to control inflation. The workers have suffered not only from inflation, low wages and rising unemployment, but also from lack of housing, schools and medical facilities, as well as 25 years of broken promises over pensions, unemployment insurance and industrial safety regulations. In October, tens of thousands of workers—oil-field workers, teachers, doctors, bureaucrats and mailmen—struck for higher pay.

The shah himself is at a crossroads. He can continue to rule as a military dictator relying on the army and the secret police to terrorize the public into submission. Or he can liberalize—permit opposition

parties, professional associations, craft guilds and labor unions to organize, express their views and campaign in free elections.

Both courses are full of peril, both for U.S. interests in Iran and for the Iranians. Continued repression may permit the shah to preserve his total power for a while. But in the long run it seems sure to guarantee chaos, especially as the decline of oil revenues in the 1980s leads to even greater discontent. This probably will be followed by violent revolution and the demise of the shah's dynasty.

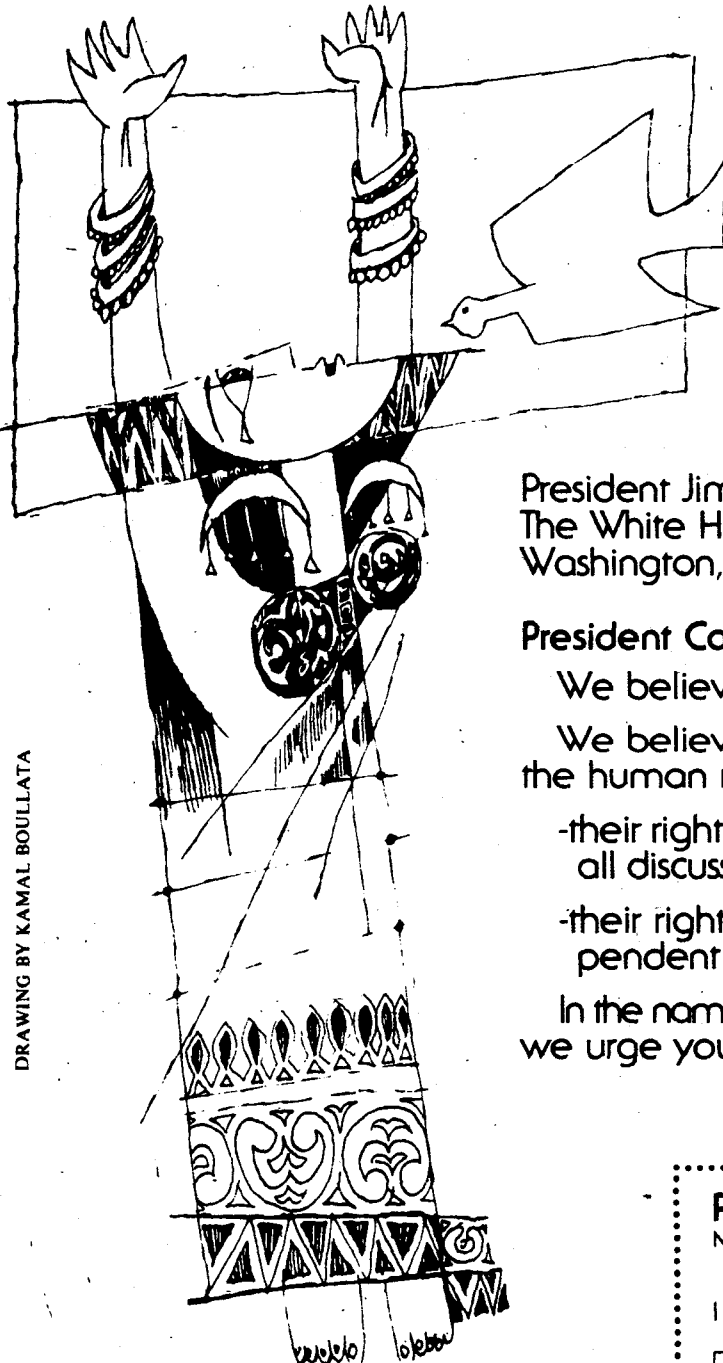
Liberalization, however, is also full of hazards, as dictators everywhere learn when they try to take the lid off the pressure cooker. But it would offer the possibility of channeling dissent into peaceful and legal activities and permit the gradual transformation of the military autocracy into an eventual parliamentary democracy.

Ervand Abrahamian is associate professor of history at Baruch College of the City University of New York. He writes frequently on Mideast affairs for Middle East Research and Information Project reports and other publications.

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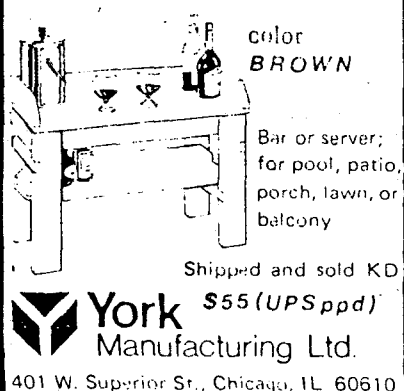
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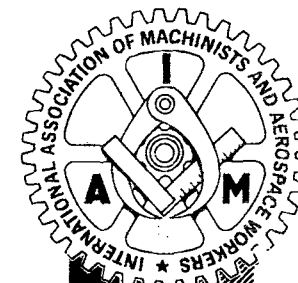
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WE REMEMBER NAT (NICK)
HALEBSKY (1927-1977)
FRIENDS OF THE COOPS

California

Continued from page 7.

hard for Brown and spearheaded his voter registration and precinct efforts. Most activist forces in the state supported Brown—even if that support was tepid—because of the prospect of a Republican victory.

However, that support has its flash points. The Campaign for Economic Democracy, the only statewide left group pursuing an electoral strategy, had to threaten an 11th-hour sit-in at Brown's campaign offices to get the governor to keep his earlier pledges to meet with beleaguered renters.

CED, which grew out of Tom Hayden's bid for the U.S. Senate in 1976 in which he garnered more than one million votes in the Democratic primary, poured most of its election-year efforts into local races as part of a long-term strategy to build a power base.

In Butte County, CED gained its first significant local electoral victory with the election of Jane Dolan to the County Board of Supervisors. Other CED-backed candidates who won included Susie Wilson, elected a county supervisor in Santa Clara County, and Rodney Johnson who won a seat on the San Francisco Charter Review Commission.

But CED and other progressives lost a critical race when state senator John Dunlap (D-Sacto) was defeated for reelection by a conservative Republican. Dunlap had been one of the staunchest supporters of progressive proposals in the state senate, and CED had held a fundraiser for him with Jane and Henry Fonda that raised \$10,000 for his campaign.

In other local races, rent control measures on the ballot in five California cities lost everywhere but Berkeley and Davis. The defeat of Prop. U in San Francisco under an onslaught of apartment owner

money was particularly disappointing.

In Santa Cruz, where a rent limit lost, an anti-speculation measure carried. And in San Jose, a measure providing for district elections to the city council as a means for combatting the impact of big money on city-wide races also carried.

Finally, in Long Beach, balloting to permit SOHIO to construct a large oil and gas transfer terminal to pipe Indonesian and Alaskan crude and LNG to the mid-west also passed, despite bitter opposition from community groups and environmentalists.

Helms

Continued from page 5.

lethal in this least unionized state—by returning money labor had given him.

Ingram's populist strategy has been tried by candidates in other southern states in recent years, with limited results.

This year in Virginia saw the apparent end of the career of Henry Howell, who twice missed the governorship by narrow margins while promising to "keep the big boys honest." In the wake of Howell losses in 1972 and 1976, the Democrats—weakened and demoralized—chose a more conservative figure to lead them in a very close Senate race.

In South Carolina, Tom Turnipseed, a born-again ex-Wallaceite who preached racial unity while crusading against the power companies, was trailing badly even before ill health forced him to withdraw from the governor's race. His campaign did force the other candidates to vie for his constituency by adopting his issues.

In these southern states only two winning coalitions have proven viable. One is the conservative alliance of Republicans and Democratic reactionaries built by figures like Helms and Thurmond.

The other is dominated by business-oriented, moderately conservative Democrats, with blacks and white liberals the

junior partners who have nowhere else to go. This is the base for North Carolina's incumbent governor Jim Hunt, and South Carolina's Democratic gubernatorial victor, Richard Riley.

The coexistence of these winning coalitions in the two states, with one holding a Senate seat and the other the governor's chair, suggests the fragility of the new moderation of recent Southern politics. ■ *Bob McMahon writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES from North Carolina.*

Massachusetts

Continued from page 8.

why Sen. Edward Brooke lost, for he has won twice before, trouncing his rivals. Brooke was largely defeated by his own family, angered about the divorce settlement with his wife. They released details of Brooke's irregular financial affairs to the newspapers. Brooke was painted before the electorate as a bad husband, a bad father and possibly a crook.

Paul Tsongas, by contrast, is an extremely progressive, bright and honest politician. He is better than Brooke on foreign policy (Tsongas is against the neutron bomb, for SALT and against the revival of the cold war, while Brooke is hawkish), and better than Brooke on national health insurance.

The Senate's only black member leaves a kind of ambiguous legacy. He fought hard for abortion rights, for the ERA and for civil rights, but he was also the ranking Republican on the banking committee, where he generally did the bidding of the multinational commercial banks. Brooke was not as dovish on foreign policy as he led liberals to believe. He had few objections to the American role in Vietnam until very late in the game.

Mayor's machine.

With Brooke's loss, however, many blacks feel that they have lost a spokesman. For

those who wanted to fight the class struggle on a realistic plane, the tax proposition offered an uncommon opportunity. The issue emerged because of archaic Bay State laws.

The state constitution prescribes that all property be evaluated at 100 percent of its value, which means that commercial and industrial property would be taxed at the same rate as residential, a burden on home owners. This law was ignored for eons, but a state court ruled that it had to be enforced and could be overturned only by an amendment to the constitution. The tax classification campaign aimed at tacking on an amendment.

Naturally, big business came out in full force with heavy contributions against the measure. To counter this corporate campaign, Mayor White put up about \$1 million in city money for the citizens effort. The court ruled that he had the authority to use the funds this way, but White used the campaign as a test for his budding political machine, to be exercised fully in next year's mayoralty race. Classification won, and White's prospects bloomed.

The election indicated no over-all trend, except Democratic. Back in the early '50s, U.S. Rep. John W. McCormack expressed the hope that one day the state of Massachusetts would have no Republicans in major offices. He was talking to a freshman House member, Tip O'Neill, who had just replaced John F. Kennedy. Thanks in part to O'Neill, McCormack's hope has now been realized.

In 1914, Boston mayor John Fitzgerald, President Kennedy's grandfather, proclaimed that the proudest label of any true Bostonian was liberal. But with Ed King in the governor's chair, that maxim no longer holds. The battles ahead with King promise to be very bitter and divisive. It's already clear that as he dispenses favors to his corporate allies his administration may rudely disappoint his working class constituents. ■

In These Times Anniversary Greetings

We salute In These Times on its Second Anniversary and welcome the publication's dedication to a more democratic and prosperous America where all men and women who want a job can work productively and harmoniously in an atmosphere free from fear.

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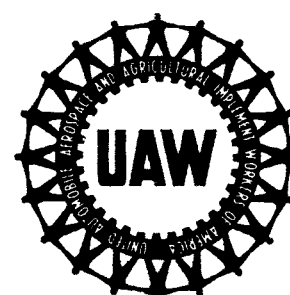
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Wm Morris' socialism of beauty

By Martin Green

Ornamental letter by Morris from *The Golden Legend*, Kelmscott Press, 1892.

HE new edition of *William Morris*, first published in 1955, is more than a reissue. The original 900 pages have been reduced by nearly 150, and then a postscript added of another 50. Both versions, obviously, were composed on a lavish scale, but the new one is shorn of what Thompson calls Stalinist pieties and polemics. "In 1955 I allowed a few Stalinist pieties to intrude, having then a reverent notion of Marxism as a received orthodoxy." Now he sees himself as being—as having always been—an interpreter of Morris instead.

Over these 22 years, his position has moved closer to Raymond Williams' as well as to Morris'—indeed, the two movements turn out to be in exactly the same direction. Thompson notes in the postscript that Williams' "important" *Culture and Society* appeared three years after the first version of *William Morris*, and showed that Williams too had been working on the "Romantic critique of Utilitarianism." (That is Thompson's term for what Williams calls the culture tradition—from Carlyle to Lawrence and Leavis.)

In fact, in *Culture and Society* Williams challenged Thompson—I think it is the only point at which he directly addressed anyone—to show what strength he drew from his Marxism, what advantage that gave him over other culture critics. By now, of course, it is Williams who calls himself a Marxist, and Thompson who does not. But these changes of label are less important than they might seem—just because both men now treat "Marxist" as a label, no more informative about where one lives than "New York" pasted on one's luggage. In fact, the two men have been drawing closer together, and working out between them an English variety of socialism.

Both of them have written for the *New Left Review*. They collaborated on the May Day Manifesto of 1968. And Thompson's other books, notably his magisterial *Making of the English Working Class* (1963) are major contributions from the historian's side to the cultural politics that Williams engages in from the side of literature.

E.P. Thompson
WILLIAM MORRIS, From Romantic to Revolutionary
Pantheon, 1977, paper \$7.95

Individually, of course, both cross those subject boundaries all the time. This is a book about a man of letters, and in part it is (excellent) literary criticism. But William Morris had two other careers, in the decorative arts and in political activism, besides that in literature. And now one might say that Thompson and Williams are giving him a fourth, posthumous career, as a rival to Marx.

Morris was born in 1834 in a well-to-do family, and while still at Oxford fell under the influence of Ruskin, the great connoisseur of art and critic of Victorian industrialism. He became a painter and a poet, in the Pre-Raphaelite circle around Dante Gabriel Rossetti, a Bohemian circle in the English style—corduroy and beer Bohemianism. It was not until the last 1870s that he turned to political action, and then he approached it in defense of art and history.

In "How I Became a Socialist," 1894, he said, "Apart from the desire to produce beautiful things, the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilization." This approach to politics was very unlike Marx's, via the arts and not via philosophy, in the name of beauty not in the name of power. In 1856 he wrote to a friend, "I cannot enter into politico-social subjects with any interest, for on the whole I see that things are in a muddle, and I have no power or vocation to set them right in ever so little a degree. My work is the embodiment of dreams in one form or another."

That is very close to what Tolstoy was saying in Russia at that very moment, and in fact Morris was more like Tolstoy in the curve of his career. But in his final position—at least as interpreted by Thompson and Williams, he was perhaps equidistant between the other two Grand Old Men of the 19th century. For if



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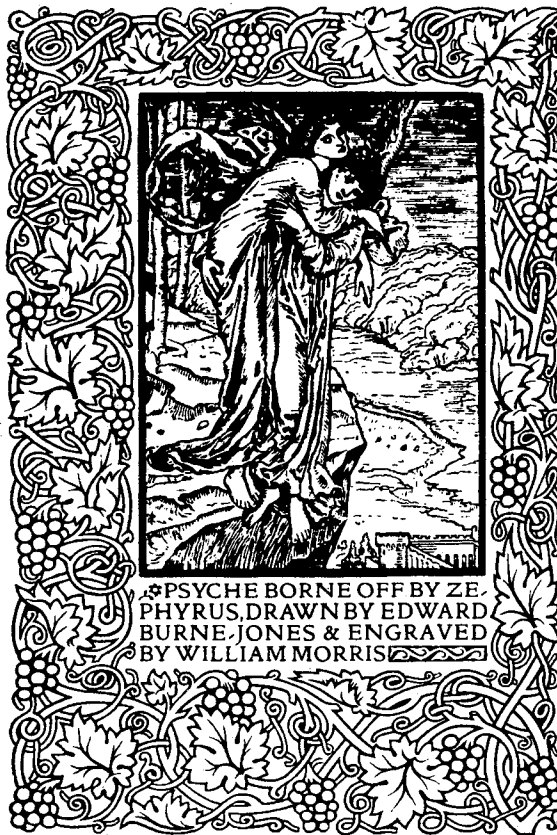
Tolstoy was at the end of his life the great saint of poverty, peace, and hard labor, Marx was the great intellectual of power, progress, and social justice. Morris stood midway between them as the great humanist of socialism, the incarnation of warmth, geniality, manliness—all that "heart" once suggested.

Thompson says that studying the Icelandic sagas—those epics of individual and group heroism

—gave Morris a crucial infusion of courage and energy in the early 1870s, and made him able to pass from the consolations of literature and design out into the world of action. In 1881 Morris used the image of a River of Fire, "something alive and devouring between us and that which must be if art is not to perish." It is this river of fire that scared from the plunge the other Victorian radicals (Carlyle, Ruskin, Mill, Arnold), "all

but those made fearless by desire of truth and insight into happy days to come." The Icelandic sagas, he said, should be made the Iliad and Odyssey of the Teutonic nations.

Morris entered public life in 1876, to protest first the "restoration" of ancient buildings (in fact, the destruction of England's heritage of architecture) and England's support of Turkey against Russia. Within a year he was en-



NOTE BY WILLIAM MORRIS
ON HIS AIMS IN FOUNDING
THE KELMSCOTT PRESS.

I BEGAN printing books with the hope of producing something which would have a definite claim to beauty, while at the same time they should be easy to read and should not dazzle the eye, or trouble the intellect of the reader by eccentricity of form in the letters. I have always been a great admirer of the calligraphy of the Middle Ages, & of the earlier printing which took its place. As to the fifteenth-century books, I had noticed that they were always beautiful by force of the mere typography, even without the added ornament, with which many of them are so lavishly supplied. And it was the essence of my undertaking to produce books which it would be a pleasure to look upon as pieces of printing and arrangement of type. Looking at my adventure from this point of view then, I found I had to consider chiefly the following things: the paper, the form of the type, the relative spacing of the letters, the words, and the

Poet, painter and designer, William Morris came to socialism through hatred of modern civilization.

gaged in class politics, on the side of the workers. In January 1883 he joined the Democratic Federation, and in March 1884, to celebrate the first anniversary of Marx's death, he took part in his first public march. In 1885 he founded the Socialist League and began to publish his magazine *Commonweal*, and from then on he was a leading figure in English Socialism.

He is so interesting in part because of the contradictions he embodied. As a poet he was a romantic in one of the lower meanings of that word—an escapist from reality. In *The Earthly Paradise*, a collection of poems very popular with the Victorians, he wrote, "Dreamer of dreams, born out of my due time, Why should I strive to set the crooked straight?"

He called himself "the idle dreamer of an empty day." And though that was written before his conversion to political hope, he wrote several romances at the end of his life that were equally escapist. And yet he was the man—more than Marx—who went out and spoke at street corners, and took part in demonstrations, and got arrested, and organized and collected and politically worked.

Thompson is quite like Morris in literary decorum and in the temperament that expresses. His book is very easy to read, very open in its enthusiasms, with touches of slanginess and defiant prejudice. He tells us that Morris' public school was unable "to do its corrupting job effectively," and that he was too "damned cheerful" to suit the Victorian idea of a poet. He takes over Morris' hostility to Queen Victoria, whom Morris called the Empress Brown, in allusion to the story that she had a child by her servant John Brown. Thompson calls her "the supreme symbol of bourgeois sham and fraud," and is very sure about Gladstone. Coming in the late 20th century, this is an engaging continuation of late Victorian devilry.

In the postscript, which is mostly a survey of books on Morris published since 1955, Thompson spends a lot of time complaining about the way other scholars used, abused, and ignored his work—but keeps reminding us that the important thing is Morris, not Thompson. He is—again engagingly—full of

blunders, apologies, outbursts and broodings. This is one of the ways he differs from Williams—another is his open-textured readability—which all relates to their very different backgrounds. (It relates also to Thompson being a strikingly handsome man, who must always have been the center of interest in any group.)

His father was another Edward Thompson, who spent most of his career in India, where he became a good friend of Tagore, Nehru and other nationalist leaders. Later he was a lecturer at Oxford, where our Edward Thompson grew up and went to school, and wrote poems, plays, novels, and journalism for *The New Statesman* and other radical papers.

Growing up in such a home, and going to the best schools and colleges as a natural extension of home life, was a very different experience from Williams' growing up. There is a letter from his father mentioning that the 16-year-old Edward is also writing Nehru, and the latter's daughter, now Indira Gandhi, visited the Thompson home as a girl. Such a heritage, such a burden of privilege and endowment, brings with it constraining obligations, competitive stimulus, and ever-potential guilt. The elder Thompson was a Morrisite by temperament if not by doctrine, and the younger's change from Marxism must be something of a coming home.

It is interesting to compare another English heir to Morris, at present active in this country, Denise Levertov. She is closer to Thompson than to Williams in temperament, and even closer to Morris, because of her single-issue politics and her activism—her readiness to be arrested, whether about Vietnam or nuclear power. She is closer to Morris also because of the romantic character of especially her early verse.

There is not the radical split between verse and politics in her that we find in Morris, but there is a lyricism, an uncontaminated quality, to her temperament and even her politics, that one can relate to her being a daughter of a vicarage, a daughter who never went to school, and a vicarage one guesses to have been morally old-fashioned and Morrisy. Above all, perhaps, it is the fullness, freedom, and vivacity of her public persona which makes her more like Morris than his other two disciples. She is, as he

was, not so much the intellectual as they. By the same token, though she uses Marxist terms on occasion, she is not in spirit Marxist. She is, for a modern mind, unusually unironic, again, like Morris.

Taken together, these three suggest the scope of the Morris tradition. It cannot, of course, challenge Marxism in the sophistication and elaboration of its concepts. But many people today are looking for something other than sophistication and elaboration. They may respond to a man who described himself thus: "...careless of metaphysics and religion, as well as of scientific analysis, but with a deep love of the earth and the life on it, and a passion for the history of the past of mankind."

The most disturbing feature of Morrisite socialism—for Marxists—is his dislike of machinery and industrialism and progress. He loved tools, was an expert workman in several crafts, and fully appreciated the function of machines. (In this way he was closest to Gandhi.) But he saw a connection between literal and social machinery, and was ready to welcome barbarism in preference to slavery to the machine. This may sound romantic and artsy, but Morris was quite realistic about the future he was recommending. He knew there would be no geniuses, no more great artists, no more great works of art. "Poetry goes with the hand-arts, I think, and like them has become unreal: the arts have got to die, what is left of them, before they can be born again." This doctrine of the withering away of the arts—something Marx could have more easily admitted, but didn't—should be the measure of Morris' seriousness.

Thompson speaks of Williams' work as a "tough mutation" of Morris' tradition of culture criticism. And no doubt Williams is the most impressive of Morris' heirs, intellectually—because he is the most intellectual, the most systematic and monumental, the most like Marx. But what Thompson and Levertov make of the heritage is just as important, in its way, and together the three make it an important option for socialists, at least in the English-speaking countries.

Martin Green is the author of The Von Richthofen Sisters, and he teaches English at Tufts University.

ledge of the technique of printing. These views were first expressed in an article by Mr. Walker in the catalogue of the exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, held at the New Gallery in the autumn of 1888. As a result of many conversations, *The House of the Wolfings* was printed at the Chiswick Press at this time, with a special type modelled on an old Basel fount, un-lead, and with due regard to proportion in the margins. The title-page was also carefully arranged. In the following year *The Roots of the Mountains* was printed with the same type (except the lower case e), but with a differently proportioned page, & with shoulder notes instead of headlines.

This book was published in November, 1889, & its author declared it to be the best-looking book issued since the seventeenth century. Instead of large paper copies, which had been found unsatisfactory in the case of *The House of the Wolfings*, two hundred and fifty copies were printed on Whatman paper of about the same size as the paper of the ordinary copies. A small stock of this paper remained over, and in order to dispose of it seventy-five copies of the translation of the *Gunnlaug Saga*, which first appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* of January, 1869, and afterwards in *Three Northern Love Stories*, were printed at the Chiswick Press. The type used was a black-letter copied from one of Caxton's founts, and the initials were left blank to be substituted by hand. Three co-

pies were printed on vellum. This little book was not however finished until November, 1890.

Meanwhile William Morris had resolved to design a type of his own. Immediately after *The Roots of the Mountains* appeared, he set to work upon it, and in December, 1889, he asked Mr. Walker to go into partnership with him as a printer. This offer was declined by Mr. Walker; but, though not concerned with the financial side of the enterprise, he was virtually a partner in the Kelmscott Press from its first beginnings to its end, and no important step was taken without his advice & approval. Indeed, the original intention was to have the books set up in Hammersmith and printed at his office in Clifford's Inn.

It was at this time that William Morris began to collect the mediaeval books of which he formed so fine a library in the next six years. He had made a small collection of such books years before, but had parted with most of them, to his great regret. He now bought with the definite purpose of studying the type & methods of the early printers. Among the first books so acquired was a copy of Leonard of Arezzo's *History of Florence*, printed at Venice by Jacobus Rubeus in 1476, in a Roman type very similar to that of Nicholas Jenson. Parts of this book and of Jenson's *Pliny* of 1476 were enlarged by photography in order to bring out more clearly the characteristics of the various letters; and having mastered both their virtues and

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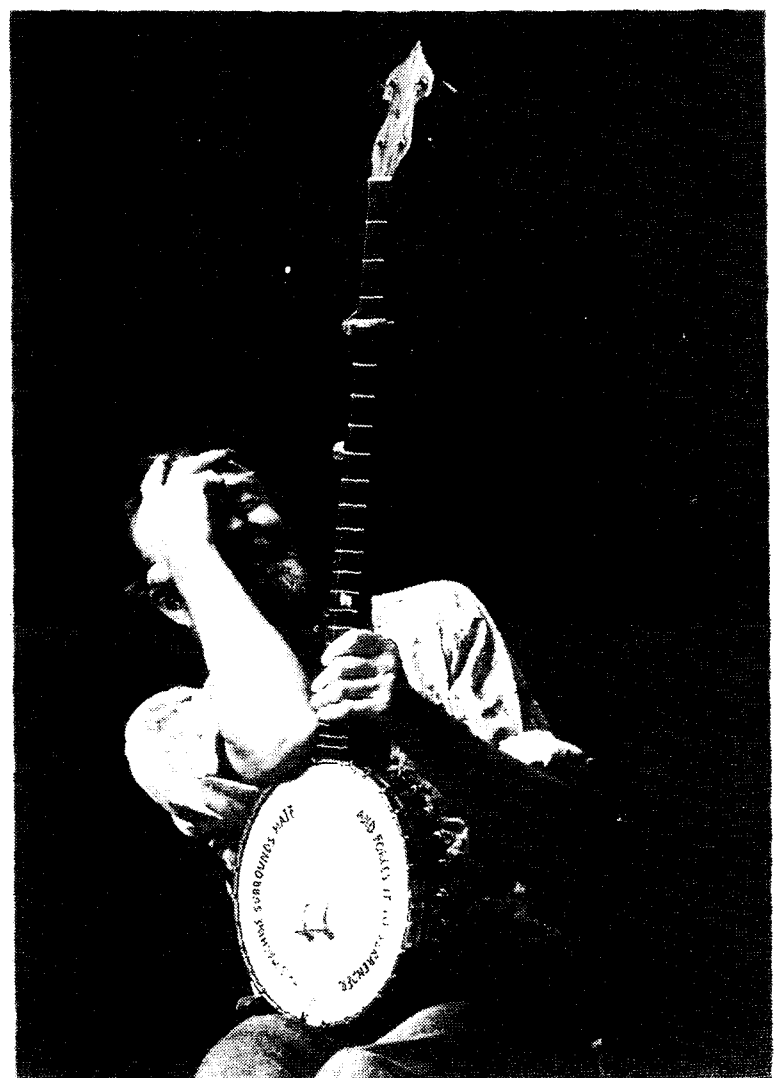
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Pages from William Morris' description of his work, showing his ornamental border style (left) and his Golden Type face (above).

Short Notice



Captain Beefheart and the Magic Band

Records

SHINY BEATS (BAT CHAIN PULLER)

Captain Beefheart and the Magic Band (Warner Bros.)

This is the first new album in over four years by one of rock's looniest, artiest, and most uncompromising musicians. Like Frank Zappa, Beefheart's style is undefinable, though it has obviously been shaped by blues and beat

M.I.U. ALBUM

Beach Boys (Brother/Reprise)

Ebb Tide? Bury the Wilson Brothers in the sand? No new idea in ten years? All of the above? **bd**

THE REGGIE KNIGHTON BAND

The Reggie Knighton Band (ARC/Columbia)

Clones in love and hip Highway Patrolmen aren't the usual subjects for rock lyricists, but they

heard all year, as was their "Fall Out" in 1977. Recommended unreservedly if you want to catch the latest Wave. When will A&M here get around to promoting a U.S. tour and album? **bd**

HAILE I HYMN (CHAPTER 1)

I Jah Man (Island import)

A must for reggae fans, this brilliant album features a superior band working with unforgettable material. **bd**

THE BERLIN CONCERTS

Eric Dolphy (Inner City)

One of Eric Dolphy's contributions to the sound of jazz was his ability to imitate inflections of the human voice in his alto sax solos. But he also mastered the flute and bass clarinet in his search for new modes of expression. Here are previously unavailable 1961 concert performances, recorded three years before his death at 36. Sometimes pretty, sometimes unsettling and always surprising, these quintet, trio and solo settings showcase Dolphy's warmth, intensity and imagination. **dr**

TEXAS-MEXICAN BORDER MUSIC

Vol. 12. Norteno Acordeon, Part 2. San Antonio, 1940s and '50s. Vol. 13. Norteno Acordeon, Part 3. South Texas and Monterrey, N.L. The 1940s and '50s. (Folklyric/Arhoolie)

Postwar Mexican immigrants and borderlands migrant laborers adapted accordion and saxophone to North Mexican folk music styles for dances and festivals; Norteno music became immensely popular. These latest in a series on this regional style make available original period recordings. Santiago and "Flaco"



The Beach Boys

poetry, and his influence continues to grow. **bd**

HANDSWORTH REVOLUTION

Steel Pulse (Mango)

Sophisticated reggae from Birmingham, England. Steel Pulse has been in the forefront of the Rock Against Racism movement in Britain, and their songs reflect their political militance. **bd**

are Reggie Knighton's. He's a pretty clever guy who might have a promising future if he'd drop the lead-footed arrangements that drown the witty songs. **bd**

"ROXANNE"/CAN'T STAND LOSING YOU"

The Police (A&M import)

These British 45's are among the most exciting rock songs I've

Jimenez, two generations in a long line of accordion virtuosos, appear on Vol. 12. **ss**

LIVE AT MONTREUX

Sun Ra and his arkestra (Inner City)

Sun Ra's obsession with images of outer space has long dominated his outrageous stage presence and often bizarre music. This two-record set captures his unique big band sound—wild, humorous and frequently unbearable cacophony with occasional nods to harmony, progressions and beat. Even Sun Ra's version of "Take the 'A' Train" takes an orbit most listeners will be unable to follow. **dr**

LOOKIN' FOR THAT GROOVE

Baird Hersey and the Year of the Ear (Arista-Novus)

An intriguing mixture of big band, "fusion" and "outside"

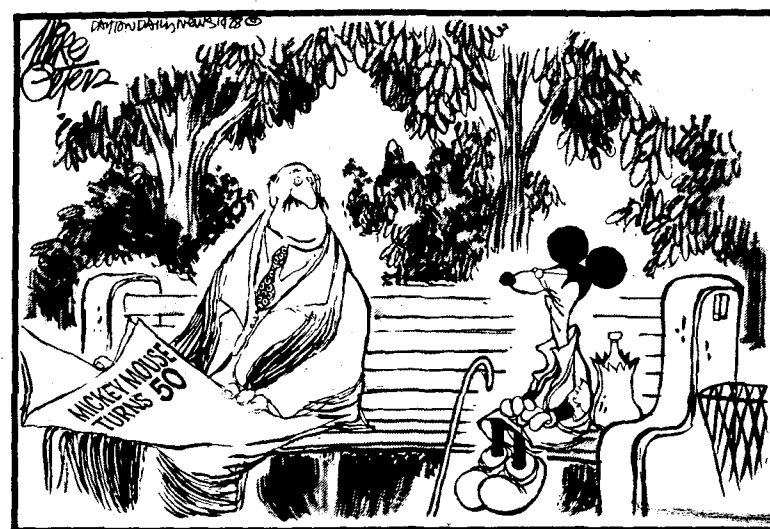
jazz styles under the cool-handed direction of guitarist Hersey. Even the forays into dissonant images of swarming bees or berserk sirens sound controlled and retain interest. When the 11 to 15 piece ensemble finds "that groove" in bright, rocking harmonies or spacey, pastoral shadings, the results are captivating. **dr**

ALIVE ON ARRIVAL

Steve Forbert (Nemperor)

Forbert looks like a young Dylan on the liner. On the grooves, though, is a modern-day Dave Van Ronk. Forbert shares many of his wheezy, breathy inflections. His repertoire unwinds like a trainride from Mississippi (his home) to New York (his stomping ground). He's torn between new-found urban arrogance ("Big City Cat") and a permeating sense of helplessness ("Tonight I Feel So Far Away From Home"). **cb**

Misc.



THEN, AFTER FANTASIA, THE BIG MONEY WENT TO LIVE ACTION...MY ROYALTY CHECKS STOPPED COMING IN...MINNIE LEFT ME...I HAD TO HAVE PLUTO PUT TO SLEEP...HUEY, DEWEY AND LOUIE BECAME MOONIES...BUT, I HEAR THE DUCK'S DOING WELL, HE'S A BIG SHOT AT THE GAO.

MICKEY MOUSE

(Walt Disney)

Nov. 18 marks the 50th birthday of Mickey Mouse, one of America's most popular and widely exported images. In 1935, the League of Nations recognized the Mouse as an "international Symbol of Good Will," and Walt assured us that "Mr. Mussolini, Mr. King George and Mr. President Roosevelt" all loved the mouse. The Mouse was a favored mascot in WWII, and in the post-war era he took on a "policeman to the world" aspect. These days, the Mouse appears, among other

places, in AID-sponsored films on contraception. Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, in *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic* (International General, P.O. Box 350, NYC 10013) describe Mickey as "a perfect miniature adult—this child-detective, this paladin of law and decency," and as "the boss in this world, and Disney's personal undercover agent." **pa**

Contributions by Bruce Dancis, Derk Richardson, Steve Schwartzman, Cary Baker, and Pat Aufderheide.

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Into the 1980s with synthesizer and spud-rock

For the past year or two there has been an excitement in rock music that surpasses anything since 1968. Although disco mindlessness and the banalities of most soft rock still dominate the charts, music with power, urgency and tension is there for those who wish to find it. Nowhere is this more evident than in the daring efforts of Akron's Devo and the galaxy's David Bowie.

The opening chords of Devo's first song sound strangely reminiscent of the opening chords of "I Want to Hold Your Hand," the first U.S. hit by the Beatles, and the song features a bizarre "Yeah, Yeah" chorus in parody of you know who. The opening fuzz-toned guitar hook of the Rolling Stones' "Satisfaction" is the single most memorable musical phrase in rock; when Devo does the same song, they leave out the hook until the end, when a synthesizer slurs through it.

But Devo is not playing homage to the greats. Devo is trying to bury the Beatles and the Stones, not praise them. As we prepare to enter the 1980s Devo offers "Uncontrollable Urge" as an alternative to "I Want to Hold Your Hand." Instead of a smooth and sensuous "Satisfaction," which in the vocal of Mick Jagger voiced frustration but also suggested the possibility of fulfillment, Devo presents a jagged, robot-like, sexless version. "Satisfaction" is unattainable, even delusory.

According to band member Jerry Casale, Devo "is just the enema bag...the clean-up squad. We're getting the broom out to make way for the '80s."

Pear-shaped devolution.

Devo is currently the most talked-about rock group in the nation as a result of its appearance on Saturday Night Live and the attention focused on its first album, *Q: Are We Not Men? A: We Are Devo* (Warner Bros.). The name was taken from "De-evolution," an imprecisely defined term that suggests a world that is regressing. As Casale told an interviewer from Britain's *New Musical Express*, "The fat man in the double-knit suit sitting watching television and becoming pear shaped. The submissive form in the contoured chair. That's de-evolution."

According to Devo, we are all "spuds," or in words from their album, "Jocko Homo," "monkey men all in business suit." The best minds of our generation have produced nothing but garbage. In "Space Junk" rock cliché meets modern super-technology—the result is that when our dying satellite fell from the sky, "it smashed my baby's head, and now my sally's dead."

Now, I suppose we don't really have to take all this seriously. Obviously, many people are attracted to Devo because the band is the latest far-out gimmick in rock, seemingly as non-threatening as *Star Wars*. We could simply laugh at the industrial sanitation jump-suits, at the song about masturbation ("Praying Hands"), and at

the wierd noises coming out of our stereos.

Although it's possible that Devo will simply be this year's fad, I don't think so. Their vision of the future/present is too rooted in reality to become ephemeral; it is not easily dismissed. More importantly, their music is one of the most successful fusings to date of New Wave minimalism—



the multiple guitar lines and rising intensity of "Gut Feeling" is classic no-frills rock—and the electronic sounds of experimental music.

One of the keys to Devo's success is their choice of synthesizer wizard Brian Eno to produce the album. Eno has been in the forefront of rock's avant-garde throughout the '70s, first as a member of Roxy Music, then as the maker of several experimental solo albums and more recently as an accomplice of David Bowie's and the producer of Talking Heads.

Although in his own John Cage-influenced work and in some of the Bowie/Eno collaborations Eno has moved beyond the boundaries of what can meaningfully be described as rock, with Devo this is generally not the case. On the most successful songs, synthesizers and other electronic devices are utilized to further the jaggedness of the music. The precision they afford serves beautifully to underscore the tautness Devo desires.

The singer who fell to earth.

Eno's work with David Bowie in Bowie's last two studio albums, *Low* and *Heroes*, has produced different results. One side of each album was devoted to instrumental music, which could be called tone poems. On these songs Bowie abandoned lyrical story-telling and, on occasion, conventional rhythms as well.

Although it was not surprising to find Bowie changing direction—it can be argued that he has shown a new face, persona, or voice on almost every album—



With high technology, Devo (above) denies progress; Bowie (left) celebrates a schizoid vision.

"The fat man in the double-knit suit sitting watching television. The submissive form in the contoured chair. That's de-evolution."

the degree of the musical transformation was unprecedented for a major rock musician. I can think of no prominent figure in rock who has ever taken as great a risk of alienating his or her audience.

The recently released live double album, *Stage* (RCA), provides an abridged history of Bowie's most important phases and illustrates his remarkably consistent, if continually pessimistic, view of the world. Unlike Devo, Bowie's gloomy visions are more personal, although they were distanced in the past through the use of his two main personae, Ziggy Stardust and the Thin White Duke.

Side one of *Stage* is made up of five songs from Bowie's 1972 album, *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars*. From today's vantage point, Ziggy appears to be one of the most influential albums of the decade—it reasserted hard rock, created glitter (the foremost assault on rock's macho sexuality), set new heights (or depths) for self-reverence, and presaged punk both in its cultural rebellion and musical form. But it was also terribly gloomy, as Bowie/Ziggy began by singing "We got five years left to cry in" ("Five Years") and closed with the devastating "Rock'n'Roll Suicide."

Stage then carries us to middle-Bowie with the Memphis soul sound of "Fame," but more notably the desperation of "Station to Station," with its references to Bowie's cocaine use and the anguished and unforgettable chorus "it's too late." "Station to Station" (also the name of the album containing it) was made immediately after the filming of *The Man Who Fell to Earth*, in which Bowie starred, and reflects the bleak future suggested by the film.

The second part of *Stage* presents the modern Bowie, featuring Bowie's recent collaborative efforts with Eno. Written and recorded in Berlin, these songs express Bowie's withdrawal from drugs, conventional rock, and America (both physically and musically). One side is made up of the aforementioned instru-

mentals, influenced most clearly by Eno and the German techno-rockers like Kraftwerk. Though Bowie's courage in presenting them is commendable, for those of us who are in this for the rock-'n'-roll, they will take some time to get used to.

The last side of *Stage* is more accessible, chronicling Bowie's successful attempt in the album *"Heroes"* to merge his new aesthetic with rock. It also marks Bowie's return to lyrics. The versatility with which Bowie uses electronics can be found by comparing the song "Heroes," in which the synthesizer is used to provide a richly textured background, and "Beauty and the Beast," where it is used for ferocious punctuation. But however triumphant the musical synthesis may be, Bowie hardly seems any more at peace than before. The profound ambivalences that account for the schizoid character of "Beauty and the Beast" and

the quotation marks around "Heroes" share the spotlight with the harrowing experience recounted in "Blackout."

Stage is both a well-produced live record and a good history of Bowie's music. And since its contents overlap very little with previously issued live albums and greatest hits packages by Bowie, it lacks the venality of many releases in the genre.

It is true that neither Bowie's estrangement nor Devo's we're-all-spuds-on-this-bus humor offer anything approaching a way out of the social and personal quagmires they describe. Yet there is an exhilaration in their music that comes from risk-taking, not to mention talent. Like punk nihilism, their stance represents a refreshing dissonant chord in a complacent world.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis writes regularly for *IN THESE TIMES* about rock and reggae music.

CULTURE SHOCK



AND NOW, FORGERY

The *New York Post* wonders whether Richard Nixon really signed the 13,400 expensive autographed copies of *RN*, his autobiography. Autograph experts suggest he used a machine and secretarial help.

DIRECT ACTION

A Latrobe, Pa.,

deejay recently played Johnny Paycheck's "Take This Job and Shove It" for four hours straight until the radio station's owner came up with partial payment on overdue paychecks for the staff.

URP

The average American visits a fast food restaurant around nine times a month these days, and puts

away almost three gallons of liquor a year. And seven of every ten teenagers just had a soft drink in the last day.



Nori Davis

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**“I am sorry,
but as your eligibility
technician I must
facilitate the inter-
face between our
human services
components and
your proximate
employability or
reprocess your
claim for remuner-
ative assistance.”**

By Rachel C. Kranz

THE BUREAUCRATIC JARGON OF THE welfare system is an easy mark for most of us. Even a television sitcom can rake up a sure laugh with a passing reference to the welfare department's self-avowed "facilitation of an ameliorated level of interface with the human services component of the eligibility technicians' input."

But it struck me recently after conducting a bewildering set of interviews about the WIN program (forced work for women on welfare with children over six years old), that simply to laugh at the absurdity of such involutions is to miss an important point. Welfare jargon is not simply grammatically dubious, long-winded, and difficult to understand. It is confusing in a very specific way, perpetuating several key aspects of the welfare system.

Welfare language creates a world of its own, a world in which it is very difficult to question the underlying assumptions of the welfare bureaucracy. The language used in the interaction between client and social worker is an integral part of the relationship that the welfare system attempts to establish between worker and client, between client and system. The vocabulary for questioning these relationships does not exist within the welfare language.

My use of the social service term, "client," has already begun to define the woman (or man) who comes into the welfare office. A client is a customer. The term

implies that she herself has chosen to depend on the welfare system for support, a construct which allows social workers to deny the power they wield over recipients. I'll never forget the comment of one "eligibility technician": "If the client doesn't agree with our training guidelines," she said, "she can always choose to take herself off the grant."

Having been defined as a free agent, then, the recipient sits down in front of the social worker's desk and is overwhelmed with a barrage of unfamiliar words—"eligibility technician," "human services component," "interface," "OJT." Absurd they may be, but when you're sitting in front of the person who's going to determine your income for the next three months and you don't know what she's talking about, absurdity is a serious business.

The plethora of words represents the plethora of services and agencies that combine to form the WIN program. Just as a new recipient has trouble finding her way through the maze of agencies, so does she find it difficult to wade through the language used to represent the maze.

If she doesn't understand the language, she can't decipher the services; if she can't use the language, she can't ask for her rights. But the use of a highly "technical" language masks that fact, just as the use of a highly complicated system of forced-work requirements masks an economy that can't provide enough decent-paying jobs. The fundamental issue—a recipient's right to services, a worker's right to a job—is displaced into an intricate network of welfare mechanics.

Beyond its ability to confuse, social service language's peculiar syntax mirrors another aspect of welfare ideology—its image of the world as uncontrollable and unchangeable. Nowhere in the welfare world can you find a shred of evidence that any person ever played a part in creating it, or that any person might ever be able to change it.

Welfare language favors abstract nouns, "dead-end" words that cut off all sense of process or motion in the world. A favorite of the WIN program is "employable," as in, "We'd like to make our clients employable."

Such a construct allows very little room for debate. What can the recipient say—that she doesn't want to be employable? That she is *already* employable? But look what happens if the social worker uses a more dynamic transitive-verb construct: "We'd like to make the people who come to us *able to get jobs*." Then the recipient could reasonably respond, "Oh, really? What kind of jobs?" or "But there *are* no jobs!"

The abstract noun contains its own beginning and end—a "dead-end," with no way out—implying that both the source and the solution of the problem are contained within the "non-employable" recipient herself. The transitive phrase "to get a job" implies motion towards a particular goal—a job—a goal that, once clearly expressed, can be questioned.

For a recipient to challenge the welfare system, she must first translate their language into her own language, then formulate her challenge in her own language. If she's lucky, her challenge will be heard, if she's not, it won't. But there is almost no way she can formulate her challenge in the language of the system. There are no words for it.

Worse, even when you come into the system with a clearly thought out set of criticisms and demands, you find that the very effort of understanding welfare language saps your energy to challenge it. It's hard to translate everything; it begins to be easier simply to think in the dominant language.

Fortunately, the women who are condemned to spend a large part of their lives fighting the welfare system do maintain their own poetry to help them see clearly, to survive. One woman's description of WIN has nothing to do with employability plans or training guidelines: "I thought the days of slavery were over," she says, "but WIN is worse than slavery! You might as well say, 'WIN is your master. I'm coming from WIN and I'm WIN.'" Fighting to understand WIN's language while maintaining her own is part of her struggle to be something more than WIN. ■

Rachel Kranz is a free-lance writer in Minneapolis; she recently completed a videotape on women on welfare, *Forced Work*.